THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE RHYTHM OF TENNYSON.

IT has been said that a perfect artist acknowledges no rules. That may be; but still every art has its rules or canons, evolved and formulated from the productions of its highest geniuses, in conformity with which, however unconsciously, the perfect artist works. The poetic art is no exception to this law; it, too, has its rules; and we may here, as elsewhere in the realm of Art, discover causes and analyse effects. And this I now propose to do with reference to rhythm as revealed and exemplified to us in the poetry of Tennyson with all its varied harmonies.

Poetic rhythm appears to me to consist mainly of a double effect: first, the effect produced by metre; and, secondly, the effect produced by the sound of the words chosen by the poet to express his thoughts. It is doubtless difficult, in many cases, to distinguish between these two effects, and to say whether a given musical sense is produced by metre or by diction, so subtly and delicately are they interwoven, especially in the poetry of Tennyson. But for the purpose of this paper I will venture to adopt this broad distinction.

As regards our author's metre, then, we may observe, in the first instance, that the first syllable, or sometimes the first two syllables, of a line of blank verse are often prominently accented by being cut off from the rest of the line by a pause, with the object of indicating some sudden, emphatic action, or some startling sight or sound, breaking the flow of the narrative. Thus in *Gareth and Lynette*, when Gareth enters Camelot, we are told that

> "Ever and anon a knight would pass
> Outward, or inward to the hall: his arms
> *Clash'd*; and the sound was good to Gareth's ear."

Note here the metrical effect produced by the abrupt pause after the word "clash'd:" we almost hear the sudden noise of

the knight's arms as he passes. Take, again, the following passage in *Lancelot and Elaine*:

> "Then did either side
> * * * * * * *
> Set lance in rest, strike spur, suddenly move,
> Meet in the midst, and there so furiously
> *Shock*, that a man far off might well perceive
> * * * * * * *
> The hard earth shake,"

where the word "shock," strongly emphasised by its detached position and sequent pause, gives us, as it were, a metrical picture of the sudden collision of the charging warriors. In *Peleas and Etarre*, when Gawain sees a single knight opposed to three, we are told that

> "Thro' his heart
> The fire of honour and all noble deeds
> *Flash'd*, and he call'd, 'I strike upon thy side,'"

a passage in which, again, the metrical prominence given to "flash'd" in the same way admirably expresses the sharp outleap of indignant passion on the part of Gawain.

The Last Tournament contains, in one passage, a good instance of the pause after the first syllable of a line, and another of the pause after the first two syllables:

> "And Arthur deigned not use of word or sword,
> But let the drunkard as he stretch'd from horse
> To strike him, over-balancing his bulk,
> Down from the causeway heavily to the swamp
> *Fall*, as the crest of some slow-arching wave
> * * * * * * *
> *Drops flat*, and after the great waters break."

Here the metrical position of "fall" and "drops flat" at once arrests the reader's attention, and the sudden action indicated by the two expressions is brought into emphatic relief. In this instance, too, the unusual position in the sentence of the word "fall" further accentuates its force. Mr. Elsdale, in his *Studies in the Idylls*, has drawn attention to the words "sounds" and "blaze," in the following passages from *The Passing of Arthur* and *Guinevere*, respectively, in both of which their wonderfully emphatic effect is due to the same two causes—their peculiar syntactical position and the following pause:

> "Then from the dawn it seemed there came but faint,
> As from beyond the limit of the world,
> Like the last echo borne of a great cry,
> *Sounds*, as if some fair city were one voice
> Around a king returning from his wars."

> "She did not see the face,
> Which then was as an angel's, but she saw,
> Wet with the mists and smitten by the lights,
> The Dragon of the great Pendragonship
> *Blaze*, making all the night a steam of fire."

Once more, the long-drawn emphasis on the word "charmed," followed also by a semicolon, in the passage I am about to quote from the same poem, produces the same, or a very similar, effect:

"Gareth, telling some prodigious tale,
held
All in a gap-mouth'd circle his good mates
Lying or sitting round him, idle hands,
Charm'd; till Sir Kay, the seneschal, would come."

Comparatively rare are the instances where four syllables are cut off from the rest of the line to give emphasis to the phrase, as in the following from *Lancelot and Elaine*:

"*His eyes glisten'd*; she fancied, "Is it for me?"

Here additional emphasis is produced by the startling effect of a trochee ("glistĕn'd") in the second foot.

The next metrical device, one which is frequent in the poetry of Tennyson, is the representation of action rapidly repeated, or of quick or joyous feeling, by an unusual number of unaccented syllables in one line. Thus we can almost hear the rush and tumble of waters in the line from *The Princess*,

"Myriads of rivulets hurrying thro' the lawn,"

or in this from *Enoch Arden*:

"The sweep
Of some precipitous rivulet to the sea,"

or, again, in this from *Œnone*, where "the long brook" is described as falling

"In cataract after cataract to the sea."

In *Gareth and Lynette*, the rapid, confused warble of song-birds sounds through the line

"Melody on branch and melody in mid-air,"

while the quick succession of notes in whistling is strikingly reproduced in the verse

"Then would he whistle rapid as any lark,"

with its numerous unaccented syllables.

There is a remarkable line in *Enoch Arden*, where it is said of Annie's sickly child that

"After a lingering, ere she was aware,
Like a caged bird escaping suddenly,
The little innocent soul flitted away."

In this line the tribrach (⏑ ⏑ ⏑) in the second foot, with its hurried cadence, seems to express the fluttering of the bird about to take flight, and the trochee (— ⏑), in the fourth, the rapid movement of escape. The whole passage, indeed, shows wonderful metrical skill. Take, again, the line descriptive of the ship in which Enoch sailed,

"Then after a long *tumble about* the cape,"

where the rhythm exactly images the tossing of a vessel in stormy waters. A similar effect is produced by the cadence of a line in *Guinevere*, where the little handmaiden is represented as standing before the angry Queen

"As *tremulously* as foam upon the beach
Stands in a wind, ready to break and fly."

Compare with this a verse from *Aylmer's Field*, in which Leolin, among other youthful pastimes shared with Edith, is described as "dipping" with her

"Against the rush of the air in the prone swing,"

a line remarkable for the number of its unaccented syllables.

Again, in *Demeter and Persephone*, "the nightingale," says Demeter to her recovered daughter,

"Saw thee and flash'd into a frolic of song;"

where we may observe how admirably the strong accent on "flash'd," and the trochaic run of the rest of the line express both the suddenness and the joyousness of the bird's song. Similarly with a line from *The Brook*, descriptive of deer partly hidden by trees and undergrowth, so that it is only the quick motion of their ears and tails that catches the eye:—

"Twinkled the innumerable ear and tail."

How wonderfully does the rapid movement of the rhythm in this line, which has only four accents, illustrate its sense! With this may be compared a line from *The Holy Grail*, in which we are told of a city whose spires

"Pricked with incredible pinnacles into heaven,"

where the rhythm seems vividly to represent the quick succession of tapering points striking the eye one after another.

Take, again, the two following lines from *Geraint and Enid*. In the first, Geraint's lance "struck home,"

"And then brake short, and *down his enemy rolled*."

In the second, Enid, in her dream,

"Went slipping down horrible precipices."

Notice how the rhythm of the former line points to *continuous* sliding motion, while that of the latter seems strikingly to picture an arrested descent—a series of slips and jolting recoveries.

A similar splendid instance of metre answering to sense occurs in *Morte d'Arthur*,* where "the great brand," Excalibur, hurled by Sir Bedivere into the lake,

"Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon,
And flashing round and round, and whirl'd in an arch,
Shot like a streamer of the northern morn."

Note how (as has been remarked by Mr. Brimley) the addi-

tional syllable in the last foot of the second line, "in an arch," which breaks the measure and necessitates an increased rapidity of utterance, seems to express to the ear the rush of the sword up its parabolic curve.

I should like to quote, in this connexion, one more passage, taken from *Enoch Arden*, in which Annie's second marriage with Philip, after long hesitation and many misgivings on her part, is referred to:

> "So these were wed and *merrily* rang the bells;
> *Merrily* rang the bells and they were wed.
> But never *merrily* beat Annie's heart."

The rhythm of these lines is arranged with wonderful skill. Observe how the heavily accented "merrily" of the last line is in harmony with its sadness, as contrasted with the lightly accented "merrilys" of the two preceding lines with their note of joy.

What a contrast to the above quick metrical effects is the slow movement of such a line as this from *The Passing of Arthur*,

> "And so strode back slow to the wounded king,"

or this from *The Princess*,

> "Suck'd from the dark heart of the long hills roll
> The torrents,"

with their dragging monosyllables!

Occasionally the paucity of accents is used to produce a *startling* effect—a rhythmical break that appeals to the reader's attention—as, for instance, in a line from the *Paradise Lost*,* on which Cowper† remarks: "He (Milton) is describing Hell; and as if the contemplation of such a scene had scared him out of all his poetical wits, he finishes the terrible picture thus;

> *Abominable, unutterable, and worse*
> Than fables yet had feign'd or fear conceived
> Gorgons and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

Agree with me, my dear, that the deformity of the first of these three lines is the greatest beauty imaginable. This, however, is only an instance of uncouthness where the *sense* recommends it." Not unlike is a line in *Aylmer's Field*, which at first looks as if it were incapable of scansion, describing the condition of Leolin when he started up from his terrible dream or vision of Edith:—

> "With a weird bright eye, sweating and trembling"

Here the harshness of the rhythm, with the unusual accentuation, gives wonderful emphasis to the thought. We can almost see the man smitten with that strange, unearthly terror. I may

* Book ii, l. 626. † *To Lady Hesketh*, March 20, 1786.

note that, in scanning the line, "trembling" is to be pronounced as a trisyllable—"trem-b(e) l-ing"—a usage which is common in Shakespeare. In this connexion a verse from *Lancelot and Elaine* may be quoted, in which Elaine is described as stealing

> "Down the long tower-stairs, hesitating,"

where "tower" and "stairs" are both to be scanned as dissyllables, the rhythm thus most vividly picturing the *uneven* progress, the frequent pauses of her descent. Contrast with this such a line as Milton's

> "Dropt from the zenith like a falling star."

Observe, in the third place, how skilfully and artistically Tennyson utilises metrical accentuation to give additional emphasis to a word or a thought. A few instances will suffice. Thus, in the description of the gloomy landscape that greeted Enoch Arden as he journeyed homewards, we are told that

> "The *dead weight* of the *dead* leaf bore it down,"

where the metrical accent falling upon the two "deads" and upon "weight," gives a remarkable emphasis to their meaning. Again, in a passage from the same poem where Enoch, after his return home, determines not to reveal himself to Annie, and

> "*Not* to tell *her*, never to let her know.
> Help me *not* to break in upon her peace,"

we note similarly how the accentuation gives special emphasis to "not" and "her" in the first line, and to "not" in the second. In the *Recollections of the Arabian Nights* we find

> "Black the garden-bowers and grots
> Slumber'd,"

a passage in which a conspicuous emphasis is given to the monosyllable "black" by its representing a whole foot in the metre. Finally in the lines from *Morte d'Arthur*—

> "So saying, from the pavement he half rose,
> Slowly, with pain, reclining on his arm,"

observe how the two long syllables ("half rose") at the end of one line, and the pauses after the first and second feet of the next ("slowly, with pain,") admirably represent and emphasise the languid and interrupted effort of the wounded king to rise.

I pass now to the second division of my subject, *viz.*, the effect produced by the sound of the words chosen by the poet to express his thoughts, or what I will call more briefly, *sound-effect*.

The power of this sound-effect in poetry generally is, of course, well-known, and since the days when Homer expressed the jolting progress of an oxwain along a rough road by the line

> ὡς δ' ὅτε τε πλάξ ἀνὴρ καταπάξας τε δοῦχμια τ' ἤλασεν,

the poets have always, in a greater or less degree recognised the rule that the sound should be an echo of the sense. But in Tennyson the sense of music, the delicate ear for the subtle cadences of rhythm, seems to be developed more highly than in any other poet. The mere sound of his words and phrases lingers in the brain, apart from the meaning, and we feel as did Wordsworth, when first his mind

> "With conscious pleasure opened to the charm
> Of words in tuneful order, found them sweet
> *For their own sakes*, a passion and a power."

Milton and Gray are admittedly remarkable for this "invention of harmonies," and I have always thought one phrase in Milton's description how, at the gathering of the rebel angels, the spacious hall of Pandemonium

> "Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air,
> *Brush'd by the hiss of rustling wings*,"

the most wonderful example of sound-effect in all literature. But, perhaps, the only English poet that comes near Tennyson in this respect, is the elder Coleridge, whose wonderful poem commencing

> "In Xanada did Kubla Khan
> A stately pleasure-dome decree,"

possesses in the highest degree this quality of melodious diction and rhythm quite apart from the meaning. The American poet Poe also, to a remarkable extent, displays this musical sense; but in both poets the quality seems to be, but fitfully present, while in the case of Tennyson it pervades the whole of his poetry. I know of a little girl, not three years old, who will sit by her father listening for half an hour at a time while one of Tennyson's poems is being read aloud. She can understand, of course, little or nothing of what she hears; but the wonderful harmony of the rhythm pleases the child's musical ear and charms her into silence and attention. The old legends of Orpheus are not so incredible after all.

Very noticeable is this wonderful power of melody in Tennyson's well-known poem beginning

> "Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean,"

the diction and rhythm of which are so perfect, that the reader fails to notice the unusual absence of rhyme.

Much of *The Brook* and the Bugle-song in *The Princess* are specially remarkable in this respect.

Proceeding to an analysis of this sound-effect, we may notice, in the first place, that much of it is due to Tennyson's skilful use of alliteration, examples of which are very numerous in his poetry. Thus, through the recurrence of the liquids *m*, *l*, and *r*, we seem to hear the doves and the bees in

"The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees,"

from *The Princess*; while shriller music, a "gale of song," is represented by the sharp dental alliteration of

"As 'twere a hundred-throated nightingale,
The strong tempestuous treble throbb'd and palpitated,

from *The Vision of Sin*. *The Lotus Eaters*, with its sleepy harmonies, is remarkable for its liquid alliterations, of which two instances will suffice :

"All day the wind breathes low with mellower tone
Thro' every hollow cave and alley lone,"

lines the mere sound of which is a lullaby ; and

"Like a downward smoke, the slender streams
Along the cliff to fall and pause and fall did seem,"

a passage in regard to which Mr. Roden Noel calls attention "to the poet's remarkable faculty of making word and rhythm an echo and auxiliary to the sense." "Not only," he continues, "have we the three cæsuras respectively after "fall" and 'pause' and 'fall,' but the length and soft amplitude of the vowel sounds, with liquid consonants, aid in the realization of the picture, reminding us of Milton's beautiful

"'From morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer's day.'"

How wonderfully appropriate, again, is the alliterative harmony of the following passage from the same poem to the landscape—that of late autumn in England—which the poet wishes to describe :

"November dawns and dewy-glooming downs,
The gentle shower, the smell of dying leaves,
And the low moan of leaden-coloured seas."

What a note of soft melancholy sounds, through the music of these verses, helping us to realise the picture ! Once more, in *Gareth and Lynette*, when Gareth rescued the "Baron, Arthur's friend," from ruffians who were going to drown him, he

"Loosed the stone
From off his neck, then in the mere beside
Tumbled it ; *oilily bubbled up the mere.*"

As we read the italicised sentence, can we not hear the stagnant water bubbling up as it closes over the stone ?

There is a passage from the *Morte d'Arthur* I should like to quote, which is remarkable for its sound-effect, due partly to alliteration, and partly to the number of accented monosyllables succeeding each other, thus representing the successive reverberations of sound :

"Dry clash'd his harness in the icy caves
And barren chasms, and all to left and right
The bare black cliff clang'd round him, as he based
His feet on juts of slippery crag that rang
Sharp-smitten with the dint of armed heels.

Here, as in one of the instances quoted above, it is shrill and harsh, rather than melodious sound, that the poet wishes to represent. Hence the predominance of sibilants and of gutturals and dentals in the verses, with a mixture of liquids to reproduce the *ringing* noise of the armour. With this may be compared a passage from *The Passing of Arthur*, describing "the last dim weird battle of the west"—a passage which is almost equally remarkable for its wonderful sound-effect:

"Shocks, and the splintering spear, the hard mail hewn,
Shield breakings, and the clash of brands, the crash
Of battle-axes on shatter'd helms."

In this example, in addition to the sibilation and dentalism (if I may be allowed the expression) of the verses, the pause, after the first syllable of the first line, represents the momentary pause and sudden recoil after an onset, while the three accented monosyllables at the end of the line seem to echo the heavy thud of repeated blows. I may be allowed to quote, in this connexion, an admirably appreciative note from Mr. F. J. Rowe's edition of *The Passing of Arthur* on the passage:

"He, stepping down
By zig-zag paths, and juts of pointed rock,
Came on the shining levels of the lake."

Mr. Rowe writes: "The short sharp vowel sounds, and the numerous dental letters in this line ("By zig-zag paths," etc.) making it broken in rhythm and difficult to pronounce, are in fine contrast with the broad vowels, and liquid letters which make the next line run smoothly and easily off the tongue. The sound in each line exactly echoes the sense; the crooked and broken path leads to the smooth and level shore."

I subjoin two lines, one from *A Dream of Fair Women*, and the other from the *Holy Grail*, without comment. They speak for themselves:

"And clattering flints battered with clanging hoofs,"
"Crack'd basilisks, and splinter'd cockatrices."

I would remark here how the whole *motif* of a poem of Tennyson's often depends for its force upon its rhythmical quality. Take, for instance, that masterpiece of rhythm, *Mariana*. The frequent recurrence in the verses of gutturals and dentals, as opposed to liquids, produces a sound-effect which accurately strikes the proper chord—an existence of hard and hopeless monotony.

Time will allow me only to touch upon vowel alliteration,

which, though very subordinate to consonantal, is capable of producing some fine effects. To glance at Milton, what a solemn organ tone is imparted to his sonnet *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont*, beginning—

> " Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,"

by the recurrence throughout it of the long *o* sound! The same sound, indicating long, resonant reverberations, occurs in Tennyson's

> " Open doors, whereout was roll'd
> A roar of riot, "

from *The Last Tournament*, a passage which is consonantally alliterative as well.* Again, the soothing melody of the broad *a* sound breathes through the following :—

> " By the long wash of Australian seas (*Enoch Arden*),
>
> " And balmy drops in summer dark
> Slide from the bosom of the stars " (*In Memoriam*),
>
> " In silver shining armour starry-clear " (*The Holy Grail*),

the last, with its added alliteration of liquids, an exquisitely musical line.

Another poetic effect, which may be included under this head of sound-effect, is that produced by the repetition of lines or phrases. Sometimes the repetition is introduced merely for the sake of emphasis, as in Milton's description of Satan's journey through chaos :

> " So he, with difficulty and labour hard,
> Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour he."

Sometimes the repeated passage contains an added notion, as in the same author's account of the various employments of the rebel host :

> " (Others) reason'd high
> Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute."

We have already had an instance of the use of this iteration by Tennyson in verses quoted above in another connexion :

> " So these were wed and merrily rang the bells,
> Merrily rang the bells and they were wed."

In all these passages the leading object of the repetition is *emphasis*. But seldom has this poetic device been more beautifully employed than in a passage in *Aylmer's Field*, describing the last meeting of the lovers :

* What a dignity Propertius gives to the soft and languid pentameter by the recurrence of this *o* sound, intensified by the sequent *r*, in such a line as

" Cum moribunda niger clauderet ora liquori."

"So they talk'd,
Poor children, for their comfort: the wind blew;
The rain of heaven and their own bitter tears,
Tears and the careless rain of heaven, mixt
Upon their faces as they kiss'd each other
In darkness, and above them roared the pine."

In these wonderfully pathetic lines the repetition is justified, not only by the additional emphasis which it gives, but also by the new phase of feeling introduced in the repeated phrase by the striking epithet "careless," pointing, as it does, to the unsympathetic attitude of Nature towards human sorrow—a feeling which is accentuated by the last sentence of the quotation, "above them roared the pine."

Another species of repetition, which is more practised by our author than perhaps by any other poet, and may be counted as one of the leading characteristics of his style, is a kind of sound-play—the repetition of a word (often in a modified form) in the same, or sometimes in a slightly different sense.

At times, indeed, this sound-play verges on the pun, and Tennyson, like his own Earl Limours,—

"Takes the word and plays upon it
And makes it of two colours."

This epigrammatic iteration has a peculiarly emphatic effect.

It is seen in Milton's—

"*Highly* they raged
Against the *Highest*,"

and in Shakespere's—

"Whom we, to gain our *peace*, have sent to *peace*,"

while Cowper employs it in

"With all this *thrift* they *thrive* not."

It is, however, as I have said, far more common in Tennyson than in any other poet. We have, for instance,

"Whereat the novice crying, with clasp'd hands,
Shame on her own *garrulity garrulously*" (*Guinevere*),

"*Crown'd* warrant had we for the *crowning* sin"
(*The Last Tournament*)

with which compare

"(Our) *crown'd* Republics *crowning* common sense"
(*To the Queen*).

Another noticeable example occurs in *Guinevere*: "the *maiden* passion for a *maid*;" and another in *The Last Tournament*: "*glorying* in each new *glory*;" while in *Lancelot and Elaine* we find:—

"It will be to thy *worship*, as my knight,
* * * * * * *

To see that she is buried *worshipfully.*"

Here is a sheaf of instances from *Geraint and Enid:*

"He from beyond the *roaring* shallow *roared,*"
"*Silent* the *silent* field
"They traversed."
Wroth to be *wroth* at such a worm."
"So moving without answer to her *rest*
She found no rest,"
"Your *wretched* dress,
A *wretched* insult on you."
"I love that *beauty* should go *beautifully.*"

No fewer than fourteen instances of this verbal iteration are scattered over the 853 lines of *Aylmer's Field*, a fact which shows how much our author delights in this kind of sound-effect.

I may add that Tennyson seems to be specially fond of this emphatic repetition in one particular form of phraseology, as seen in a line from the *Lotus Eaters:*

"For ever *climbing* up the *climbing* wave."

Thus, in *The Palace of Art* we find

"*Mouldering* with the dull earth's *mouldering* sod,"

and in *In Memoriam* it is said of the coffin'd form borne in the "fair ship" from the Italian shore, that it

"*Heaves* but with the *heaving* deep."

Again, in *St. Agnes' Eve* the shadows are represented as

"Still *creeping* with the *creeping* hours,"

while in *Merlin and Vivien* the dawn "glimmers down" upon the sleepers

"*Blushing*, upon them *blushing*,"

and, finally, in a line from *In the Valley of Cauteretz*, the stream is addressed as "*Deepening* thy voice with the *deepening* of the night,"

Besides the above instance of mere verbal repetition, we find such examples as the following:—

Under *colour*
Of such a cause as hath no *colour*"
(*Queen Mary*).

"They have *bound* my lord to cast him in the mere."
Then Gareth, "*Bound* am I to right the wrong'd"
(*Gareth and Lynette*)

"With comment, *densest condensation*" (*Merlin & Vivien*)

"See thou to it
That thine own *fineness*, Lancelot, some *fine* day,
Undo thee not." (*Gareth and Lynette*),

"*A moment* for some matter of no *moment*" (*The Foresters*).

But in these quotations word-play is intermingled with the sound-play—there is the latent pun—; and, in so far as this is the case, such instances are excluded from our survey, as not coming under the head of rhythm. For the same reason I do not admit under the head of sound-effect examples of oxymoron, such as "*faultily faultless*" in Maud, or "the *pitiful pitiless* knife" in *The Defence of Lucknow*, or the famous lines in *Lancelot and Elaine*,

> "His *honour* rooted in *dishonour* stood,
> And *faith unfaithful* kept him falsely true,"

because it is *meaning* rather than *sound* that is the important thing here; they appeal not so much to the ear, as to the understanding.

There is yet another kind of sound-effect, which consists in the repetition, not of a word, but of a mere sound, as when Shakespere speaks of finding "*books* in the running *brooks*," where we feel how the expression gains by the strong assonance of the words "books" and "brooks," bringing out, as it does, the idea of *correspondence* with peculiar force. For the effect of this assonance is to give an epigrammatic touch to the phrase or sentence in which it is used; it adds much to the emphasis of a statement, and with its lingering echoes makes it dwell in the memory. What verve and intensity, for instance, does the play of sound give to the meaning of the following passage from *Othello*:—

> "What damnèd minutes tells he o'er
> Who *dotes* yet *doubts*, suspects yet strongly loves!"

and what a note of reverberating melancholy is struck in Milton's

> "Now the thought
> Both of *lost* happiness and *lasting* pain torments him!"

Tennyson, as might be expected, is fond of "playing with assonances" (to use a phrase of Lowell's), though, as far as I have observed, he does not deal in them so freely as in other

The Latin authors sometimes employ this assonance with marked effect. Here is a specimen from Ovid—

> "*Verbera* cum *verbis* mixta fuere meis,"

and here another from Tibullus—

> "Quam *ferus* et vere *ferreus* ille fuit,

with which may be compared a line in the following stanza from one of Beaumont and Fletcher's songs

> "Hear, ye ladies that are coy,
> What the mighty love can do.
> *Fear* the *fierceness* of the boy.
> The chaste moon he makes to woo,"

a line upon which Leigh Hunt remarks "Nothing can be finer. Wonder and earnestness conspire to stamp the iteration of the sound."

kinds of sound-effect. An emphatic example occurs in *The Last Tournament :*

> " Thy Paynim bard
> Had such a *mastery* of his *mystery*
> That he could harp his wife up out of hell."

Here are two others from the same poem :

> " Even to *tipmost* lance and *topmost* helm,"
> " Arthur deign'd not use of *word* or *sword*. "

In *Harold*, the Saxon chief prefaces his report of a statement made by William of Normandy with the words—

> " Then with that *friendly—fiendly* smile of his, "

where we feel how strongly the assonance brings out the passionate bitterness of the speaker. A parallel phrase to this occurs in *Queen Mary*, describing a " knot of ruffians " as glaring at a citizen " with *execrating execrable* eyes. "

Similarly in the early editions of *The Princess* we find :—

> " Go, fitter thou for narrowest neighbourhoods,
> Old dog-eared haunts where gossip *breathes* and *seethes*,"

with which may be compared a line from *Harold :*

> " It (the comet) *glares* in heaven, it *flares* upon the Thames. "

Both passages remind us of Martial's

> " *Laudat, amat, cantat* nostros mea Roma libellos. "*

Again, a line in *The Victim*—

> " The priest in *horror* about his *altar*,"

recalls Shakespere's

> " A foolish *thought* to say a sorry *sight*,"

where the assonance in the two halves of both lines sharply accentuates the statements. Very similar is—

> " I love thee and thou me—and that
> Remains beyond all *chances* and all *churches*,"

from *Harold*. In *A Dream of Fair Women*, " her *stately stature* " seems to jar upon the ear, but the assonance in—

> " A fury seized them all,
> A *fiery family* passion for the name of Lancelot,

admirably emphasises the feeling pourtrayed. Finally, can we not almost hear the gusts, in *The Passing of Arthur*, where over

> " The mighty bones of ancient men "
> The sea wind sang
> *Shrill, chill*, with flakes of foam ?—

* Epp. vi, 61. In my *Select Epigrams from Martial for English Readers* I have endeavoured to preserve the jingle :

> " Quite friendly, Rome applauds my lay ;
> *Dotes* on it, *quotes* it day by day.

a passage, with which should be compared another from *The Holy Grail*—

"So *quick* and *thick*
The lightinngs hefe and there to left and right
Struck."

But it is time to bring these remarks to a conclusion. Amid the wealth of illustration of my subject to be found in Tennyson, the curious reader will be able to find out many other examples for himself; and to him these brief notes may afford some guidance in tracing the wonderful and varied effects in metre and in sound, that occur in the writings of one who, while he is in the truest sense a great poet, is above all a master of rhythm.

W. TREGO WEBB.

ART. II.—RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN CIVILIAN.

By HENRY GEORGE KEENE, C. I. E., M. A., OXON.

CHAPTER V.

1849—1856.

(*Continued from No.* 202, *October* 1895.)

MY troubles appeared to be over. I was leaving a pleasant station, to be sure; but it was one in which I had undergone a sad load of care. There had been double expenses of living, and less than half-pay, and there had been the constant irritation from hostile neighbours, resentful of paper currency worries and of my lack of severity towards their servants and other natives. I was going to a District with which I was already familiar, to an ample income, and to very interesting work. In fact, my tenure of office at Muzafarnagar was the climax of my official course. Not that the existence was an altogether ideal one; too many drawbacks were evident. "The Manager Serlo," in *Wilhelm Meister*, asserted that no man who valued his culture ought to pass a day without seeing a fine picture and hearing good music; and such influences were entirely wanting. But the bungalow was comfortable and not ill-decorated; fir trees shaded the lawn; there was a good garden, with grapes, oranges, and peach trees; a large swimming bath assembled the gentlemen of the station every morning, and they were both more numerous and more companionable than of old. One of my Assistants at one time was Grant, afterwards Sir Charles, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs; at a later date came Auckland Colvin*, since then distinguished in many high offices, both in India and in Egypt. When the great heat was over, the ladies joined us from the hills; and I enjoyed for some months the company of wife and children.

The camping-season began early, and I hastened to take the field, one of my most important duties being to inspect and stimulate the operations of the survey. The free life, with exciting occupation, was very delightful, had there been

* Sir Auckland Colvin, K. C. M G., etc., etc., was educated at Eton and Haileybury, and had not been more than two years at work when he came to me. He has since been Controller of Finance and Consul-General at Cairo, Finance Minister in the Government of India, and, ultimately, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, as his father had been before him.

no conflicting duties to extend the pressure and distract the attention. Unfortunately we were in the days before the introduction of the great principle of "division of labour," and the ordinary functions of a District Officer were then too multifarious and responsible even without the additional business of settlement operations. In 1860 almost every conceivable phase of rural life demanded the attention of a Magistrate-Collector. He was at the head of the criminal judicial administration, including that large class of cases which, in civilised countries, belong to the "Law of Tort," but in such backward communities as those of Hindustan are constantly brought into the correctional tribunals by a poor and vindictive people. Did a creditor attack his debtor's oxen, he would be charged with cattle-lifting; if the spout of a villager's roof drenched his neighbour's premises, the neighbour would complain of a trespass, or apprehended breach of the peace; nuisances, right-of-way, boundary disputes, all were followed up, past the very doors of the civil courts, and arranged by the ready help of shrewd pettifoggers—to assume the appearance of public or private wrongs. There was a particular law of trespass, known as Act IV of 1840, the elasticity of which was almost inexhaustible, and under which no decision had a chance of satisfying the litigants, unless the Magistrate went to the spot and held a local inquiry in person. He was also head of the Police, responsible for the conduct and discipline of the Force, and for the detection of all reported crime, sometimes sitting to hear cases in which he had himself directed the preliminary investigation, and was represented in the prosecution of trials in which he was to act as judge. He was in charge of the public Distilleries and Licences, of the Road-and-Ferry-Funds, of the Dispensaries, Jails, and Village-schools. On Sundays he had to read Divine Service to the Christians in his Court-House; in his leisure moments he was to be accessible to Hindu and Muhamadan visitors, to control their religious animosities, and, occasionally, to keep the peace in the processions and public ceremonies of conflicting creeds. He had to report periodically to the heads of a score of different departments.*

The above may well seem an exaggerated statement; but one far more startling is to come. All this was little more than what was known as the Magistrate's "miscellaneous" work, the most complete and punctual performance of which would, of itself, have left him but an unprofitable servant. The District which I now had to administer, though by no means one of the largest in the Province, contained about 1,000 estates, or

* About the time of the Mutiny a detailed article on this subject appeared in the *Calcutta Review*.

townships, peopled by three-quarters of a million of persons whose occupation was almost entirely agricultural; some of them being manors held by rich individuals, but the most of them *communes* of cultivating proprietors with joint responsibility, sometimes held together by the bond of tribal solidarity, often convulsed by mutual dissidences and feuds. Towards all these the District Officer stood in the light of Government Agent; charged with the realisation of the State-share of the rents, the maintenance of statistics, advances, suspensions, and the numerous general interventions of a benevolent stewardship.

"Who is sufficient for these things?" may here be asked, but even these were not all. There had always been a class of cases, formerly known as "summary suits," which could only be heard by the head of the District, or by an officer having co-ordinate powers, of whom there was almost always one other in the District staff.

Sometimes a junior officer, or native deputy of exceptional ability and experience, would be specially empowered to relieve the Collector of a portion of this sort of judicial duty; and I recollect, among the pleasantries of the Delhi *Punch*, a set of supposed questions for the examination of young officers (then recently instituted), which contained, among others, more or less foolish, the following:—

"If you are empowered to dispose of your Collector's summary suits, will that justify you in disposing of his winter clothes?" But this by the way.

Since the preceding year an Act for reforming the administration of the laws and tenures arising out of the system of Land Revenue in Bengal and the N.-W. P. had defined the rights of tenants, and provided for the hearing and determining of all suits between them and the proprietory occupants; so that, over and above his other duties, the Collector had now become a judicial authority in a class of suits often involving large and important interests.

An obvious inference must be that so many duties could not be discharged, except in a most superficial and perfunctory manner. An iron machine working without rest, night and day, could only find twenty-four hours to work in; and twenty-four hours would hardly suffice for all this mass of work, police, judicial, and miscellaneous. This is undeniable; and a large proportion of the duties must have degenerated into mere routine, but for the skilful manner in which they were, in practice, distributed among higher and lower subordinates, European and Asiatic, Joints, Assistants, Deputies, Tahsildars, etc.

Nevertheless, the Collector always continued responsible;

and if he wished to avoid blame and disaster, he must exercise a valid control over all the staff; a control which often included a discharge of instructional functions in the case of young and inexperienced subordinates. Often, however, the senior officials gave him very efficient aid indeed, sometimes extending to the charge of whole branches of the work (in the Lower Provinces, there was at one time a rule that the head of the District should divest himself of all judicial duty and confine himself to executive work, but the policy, and even legality of such a rule were alike open to question). In modern times the Collector-Magistrate is still expected to exert an intelligent control over many elements of local administration; but jails, public works, schools and surveys, are all and each made into distinct departments under specially trained officials. So, when the Government leases fall in, where the "Permanent Settlement" is not in force, a professional survey is provided, and a distinct staff, under a duly constituted "settlement officer," has to value the estates, record the rights and statistics, make the registers, and settle with the proprietors and joint stock communities the amount they would have a right to collect from the tenants under existing circumstances, and the quota they would be required to pay to the State As the law stood in my time, the collections in any part of any estate might be enhanced or reduced —on certain statutory grounds—every decade; but the State's demand was fixed for thirty years. Enhancement of rent would not be a basis for enhanced demand; but the revenue might be suspended, or even partially remitted on account of severe calamity; otherwise what was fixed at settlement would remain due, year by year, for the whole of that generation.

It is not desirable that these light pages should be encumbered by technical explanations; enough has been said to show the enormous importance of the settlement officer's duties, and the great addition that they must have made to the labours of a man already answerable for the exercise or control of such numerous and varied services. The first cold weather, 1860-61, passed in moving about those sub-divisions in which the work was most forward, and in such field sports as were compatible with that sort of duty. I had one or two excellent horses, an Arab, with a power of leaping unusual in his class, a bony country-bred chesnut, with which I had won the grand steeple-chase at Dehra in the autumn of '59, and a pony which cleared a 21 ft. ditch. I had likewise some good grey-hounds; one—King Cob, a Newmarket dog—caught two unwounded antelopes in one week. The time passed only too quickly; days of exile, doubtless, yet not without enjoyment and honest labour.

With 1861 came a considerable and afflicting change. It has been already observed that local droughts are apt to occur in Upper India every eleven years; and that period had now come round since the partial failure of the monsoon rain that has been mentioned in dealing with the year 1849-50. The present visitation was more severe; and what Sir W. Hunter appears to consider the first attempt at a scientific system of relief was instituted in the N.-W. Provinces.* A detailed history of Indian Famines was given in the *Report* of the Commission, published in 1880, by order of Parliament; and an abridgement of the conclusions arrived at by the Commissioner will be found in the valuable work quoted in the foot-note. It may suffice here to say that these visitations are of two classes: the minor calamities due to local failure of rain for a single year, and the more universal suffering caused by a general deficiency of rain during two years or more. The former are now regarded as of small importance, by reason of better economical conditions, and, especially, because the railways, by affording cheap and rapid movements of food-supply, are able to spread the scarcity over the whole of India and thus relieve the pressure on the regions where the drought is most severe. But the latter class of calamity, where the monsoon fails season after season, continues to make great demands on the vigilance and skill of the authorities. . . .

Happily the present trouble was only local and of short duration; but it made a sad impression on those who had to encounter such a disaster for the first time, and all who were in authority, high or low, found ample and serious occupation in protecting the people. Only a few miles of railway were then available, and the grain-dealers were slow in opening their stores, until they were able to form some notion of the probable duration of the scarcity. Prices rose, when it was clear that the rains of 1860 had failed, to a height that soon became prohibitive to the poor and improvident peasantry and artizans who formed the great bulk of the population; and the police officials made alarming representations of the danger to public tranquillity that would be incurred if the dealers were not compelled to open their grain-pits and sell food at a fixed and moderate price. It became our duty to oppose firm denial to all such propositions: the grain-dealers were the natural commissariat of the country; they had the best means of knowing what was their own interest, and it was their interest to put the people on short rations by means of high prices, unless they would have all their supplies exhausted before the scarcity

* *The Indian Empire*, p. 644 (3rd. ed.) W. H. Allen & Co. 1893.

passed over. Yet maxims of political economy, however true in the abstract, would not suffice to keep the people quiet, or even to prolong their lives. Inspired by an able administration and encouraged to systematic effort, the District Officers exerted themselves to the utmost. Afflicted spots were visited and carefully inspected ; relief works were set on foot ; the aged, the very young, the shame-faced women who could not work, or attend at the poor-houses, were fed at home, scantily no doubt, but to an adequate extent ; above all, the grain-dealers were soothed and protected ; half-a-million of persons were relieved, at an expense of Rs. 7,50,000. In the District of Mozafarnagar no more than one hundred-and-fifty deaths occurred from starvation, say one in five thousand, and a by no means friendly Commissioner had to report that there was not a single town or village that had not been personally inspected by one of the three European officers then present.*

Nevertheless, the visitation formed a serious addition to the numerous tasks already incumbent on the small staff. I had but one European Assistant in each Department, and other special tasks were now to be added. Cholera re-appeared—pestilence, in some form, always becomes epidemic after an Indian famine—and a reforming legislature, at the same moment, gave us more work than ever. The Police in the N.-W.P. was remodelled with the view of diminishing the pressure on the District Officer, and relieving him from the necessity and responsibility of conducting prosecutions in his own court and in those of his subordinates. This reform had been originated in the Madras Presidency ; and its propriety was the more commended to the authorities in Upper India by the existence of a separate Military Police which had been organised during the Mutiny, the men and officers of which were still to be provided for. The idea was sound ; nevertheless, the labour of amalgamating this body with the local force of the District fell, in the first instance, on the magistracy, who were obliged to devote time and attention to teaching the officers their new duty. Nor was this all ; for new Codes of Penal Law and Procedure came into action at the same moment ; and in these directions we had not only to teach but to learn. The Indian Penal Code, begun by the Committee of which Macaulay had been an early and most important member, had been brought to maturity by Sir Barnes Peacock ; and its wise and scientific simplicity, while leaving ample discretion to judicial officers, contained rules and principles not at first sight obvious to men accustomed to the old chaotic methods.

* For some farther facts about this period, Trotter's excellent History may be profitably consulted (*India under Victoria, II*, p. 135.)

All, however, had got into working order with a little intelligence and good-will, when a new burden was laid on the uncomplaining people and their local rulers : I refer to the introduction, for the first time, of direct taxation for Imperial purposes. So far back as 1859, Lord Canning's hands had been strengthened by the arrival of a distinguished English financier, the Rt. Hon. James Wilson, sent out to aid him in the almost desperate undertaking of filling the gap of deficit caused by the Mutiny and its suppression. Great reductions of expenditure were found possible as order was gradually restored ; but there remained still two pressing tasks. Lee-way must be recovered by new resources, and a system of account must be introduced which would enable the Government of India to ascertain what were its necessary and unavoidable expenses. The better to help in the forming of adequate plans, Canning and his new Minister made a tour of enquiry through those parts of India where the chief financial disorder had occurred : the hæmorrhage of the Treasury was staunched, and then they applied their minds to study the question of supplying new blood. Among other District Officers I was summoned to the camp. I was then still superintendent of the Doon, and the Viceroy and Mr. Wilson invited me to meet them at Rurki, on the western border of my charge.

The scene is very fresh in my recollection. The pale face and high forehead of the calm Viceroy, and the charm of his beautiful wife, as they floated in a barge where the river Ganges broke through the gorge of Hurdwar ; and the thoughtful manners of the great Finance Minister, with hands crossed much behind his back, and his massive brow bent on the ground as we walked along together in the evening. Wilson was Under-Secretary to the Treasury in London, where the Income-Tax had already come to be looked on as an important source of permanent revenue ; and, as he paced the garden in the starlight, he expounded its benefits in a manner which caused much diffidence in the mind of his hearer. Still one had been sent for on the ground of imputed local experience ; and it seemed an evident duty to state one's honest opinion. I plainly showed the difficulties which any one who knew anything of these remote regions would see in the path. Direct taxation was unknown in Hindustan, unless on a very small scale, for purely local purposes. The people might see no oppression in an impost levied once for all as a lump sum to make good the losses of the Mutiny ; but an annual exaction of money to be taken away and spent beyond their control or knowledge, was a different thing, especially in a country wholly without even the shadow of representative institutions. Then, there was the

twofold difficulty of assessment and collection, the former in particular, where officials of the lower class commanded so little confidence, where a jealous concealment of means was of traditional habit, and where comparatively few incomes of taxable amount could be presumed to exist. In such a country, I ventured to observe, an Income-Tax must produce a minimum of yield with a maximum of every kind of evil.

Wilson listened patiently and then asked—What I would propose as an alternative? Money must be raised; the ordinary sources of revenue, chiefly derived from the poor, could not be increased; it was surely fitting that the rich should contribute to a Government on which they were dependent for protection in life and property. The suppression of the revolt had added forty millions sterling to the public debt, and the new military establishments, which recent events had rendered permanently necessary, required an addition of ten millions to the revenue; after all possible reductions had been made, there would be more charges left than the inelastic fiscal system of old could be made to bear.

All this was true, except as to "the rich," of whose existence in India there was reason for grave doubt; and yet I could not but think that my objections were true also; and I ventured to propose, no doubt, somewhat vaguely, a principle which has since been adopted with very great success under the title of "Decentralisation." If the revenues were insufficient, the fact might, perhaps, be due in part to the constant leakage of the Provincial Services. Each local authority, from the Provincial Governor downwards, was led, under the existing system, to regard the Government of India in the light of an inexhaustible well, out of which it was their business to draw what would else be drawn by others. Hence arose an irresponsible competition on their parts, each trying to increase his allotments, while the Government of India, in seeking to control and check their demands, assumed a responsibility for which it had no proper means or knowledge. That is to say, that it was often impossible for the various "Departments" of that Government, from their central point of view, to judge of the actual merits of each demand. Thus, I said, I had lately found it necessary to add to the establishment of the Dehra Dispensary an extra sweeper on 4 Rs. a month; but the Lieutenant-Governor was unable to sanction that small addition to local charges, and the application was now before the Government of India. "How was it possible," I asked, "for Lord Canning, in the midst of all the cares of a vast Empire, to pay attention to such matters as this?" Of course, they were delegated to Secretaries who left them to Under-Secretaries, by whom, again, they were ultimately entrusted to the disposal of

uninformed and irresponsible clerks. Make each local authority answerable for the services under him, each Provincial ruler providing for such local services in his own local budget, and you would give each a motive for economy which would change the present competition of expenditure into a rivalry of retrenchment and reform. I had discussed this question with Colonel Waugh at Mussooree during the last twelve or eighteen months; but the project was in a crude state, going no further than that the Government of India should confine its outlay to certain fixed heads of Imperial expenditure—a somewhat academical proposition which did not of itself advance the solution of present practical needs. Wilson, too, had quite made up his mind to trust to direct taxation and a reformed method of keeping accounts; and no further attention appeared to be given to the principle of Decentralisation. Nevertheless, as I afterwards learned from Sir Bartle Frere, Wilson bore the conversation in his mind and mentioned it to his colleagues on his return to Calcutta.*

Be that as it may, the Government of India, with the consent of the Cabinet at home, had by this time decided on introducing the British system of direct taxation into India; nay, to such minuteness was the imitation carried, that, in the schedule to the original Act, a form of notice to be issued to persons complaining of over-assessment was headed "Sir, or Madam!" And this in a land where the lower class of taxable incomes was taken as £20 a year, and where respectable unmarried women are not to be found having abodes or incomes of their own. By the law of 1860, which District Officers were now instructed to enforce, these multitudinous little incomes were to be appraised and brought under assessment; every individual alleging himself to be surcharged, was to have a personal hearing from the Collector; the work was done in the dark, doubtless with a good deal of inequality. I was allowed, indeed, a special Assistant for the work; but he was new to the District, and his share of the assessments was appealed to the Board of Revenue, and ordered to be revised, so that his help was not of so much value as was intended.

In spite of all these hindrances, the preliminary operations of the Land Revenue Settlement continued to make steady progress. The camping season is of considerable duration in Upper India, and we were able to work in the fields from the beginning of October to the end of March. Colvin was ener-

* In 1892-3 the "Assessed Taxes" yielded a little over Rx. 1,600,000, while the total of Municipal revenues amounted to nearly ten millions But the latter large sum being spent, where it is raised, and under representative control, is probably obtained with less expense and friction than the far smaller item of Imperial taxation.

getic and intelligent; much help was received from a special native "Deputy," and some even from the general administrative staff. The survey was pushed on; the village-accountants assisting actively; and, as soon as a sub-division had been surveyed, the record of rights and of assets ensued so as to form a basis of assessment. Each officer going into camp was provided with a sort of copy-book, containing a map of the sub-division that he was to visit, divided into estates and communes, and also having two pages for each such area, at the head of which stood recorded the statistics of the last settlement; under this he was requested to enter (from personal observation and inquiry) the changes that appeared to have occurred in each estate after the lapse of thirty years, with his impressions as to existing resources and future outlook. Coming as we did upon a tract of country lately afflicted by the three successive calamities of war, famine, and pestilence, it behoved us to be the more careful; avoiding, on the one hand, all temptation to overrate recuperative resources, whilst, on the other, keeping watch lest temporary depression should be mistaken for permanent ruin. A very general account of the mode of operation may be allowed, although the subject is too technical to be minutely treated here.

It has been already mentioned that estates in Hindustan may be grouped in two great classes: (1) *Manors*, or undivided estates held by persons to whom the right of collection and management has been assigned by the ruling power: such were formerly a combination of temporary alienation and official charge, erected into a *status* of ownership in Bengal, but elsewhere liable to the ancient custom of periodical re-assessment. (2) *Villages*, or joint-stock estates, more or less divided among the sharers, but with common land, too, and, above all, with common reponsibilities.

The nature of the first class, or sort, can be best explained by a typical example. In one of the southern sub-divisions there was a large estate which had formed a part of the demesne of the King at Delhi, and had been confiscated when he was convicted of rebellion.* The estate was then assigned to a gentleman whom I had known before the Mutiny, and who, having been Sub-Collector of the *Hazur Tahsil*, or Central Sub-Division, during that period of trial, had been faithful and energetic, and had been, accordingly, recommended for reward. He was a leading member of the ancient clan of "Bárhá Sáyyids" who had been powerful in the District ever since the 14th century A. D., and

* It sounds abnormal that a *de jure* sovereign should be tried for treason towards his subjects; but the position was not without precedent in English history. The old King was found guilty, and transported to Burma, where he ultimately died.

had given Prime Ministers and Commanders-in-Chief to more than one of the later Emperors. This gentleman's name was Imdad Hosain; he was tall, handsome, and a keen sportsman, fond of Englishmen, but claiming the right, since usually acknowledged, to keep on his European boots and shoes when entering their houses. My youngsters had given him the nickname of "Bildad the Shuhite." When my camp came near his property, he requested an interview, which he opened by asking, bluntly, whether I thought the estate had been conferred on him as a particular favour? On my answering that so one must suppose in all the circumstances, Bildad calmly observed that, in that case, he should expect me to content myself with assessing the State's demand on the existing rent-roll. I saw the drift of this request: the agents of the ex-King had, either from negligence or corruption, allowed the tenants to sit at an absurdly low rental, about one shilling an acre, I think; and the shrewd Bildad saw his way to doubling this rate, but naturally not until after assessment. Premising that the arrangement and its reasons must be fully reported to the Board, on whose decision it would depend, whether or no it should be confirmed, I did as I was asked; *i.e.*, took the total existing rent-roll; added something for the timber, grass, piscary, and other manorial rights; then divided the whole by two, assessing half as the landholder's due to the State, year by year, for the next thirty years, and leaving him to make his arrangements with his tenants, under the limits prescribed by law. The assessment was, in due course, reported and confirmed.

The second sort of estates did not admit of this simple treatment. Let us try to imagine one of the villages inhabited by a land-holding community. It looks well in the bright winter morning, basking knee-deep in green wheat and sugar-cane, and shaded by groves of spreading mango trees. The cattle wander through the lanes, with large, peaceful black eyes, and mobile lips hung with half-eaten fodder: other less fortunate bullocks descend and ascend the slopes in front of the wells, bringing up great leather buckets full of water, or letting their collapsed bulk fall back empty. There are no hedges, but the level lands are divided by earthen balks, on the tops of which run the channels that take the water to the fields. On little platforms, raised among the crops, boys call, or sling mud pellets at the hungry crows. Here and there are small plantations of useful trees, the Dalbergias to yield joists and rafters, the Acacias, whose hard wood is best for ploughs and sugarmills, while it yields the best charcoal. A small mud fort, now dismantled, shows the residence of the former chief in the wild days before the conquest; at its feet the hollow, out of which the earth for the walls was long ago excavated, now makes the

pond where the villagers bathe and wash their raiment. In the background lie the few village streets, containing the *chaupál*, the humble guildhall of the little Municipality common to the use of all the respectable males of the place, and used also for the accommodation of guests. Here the yeomen assemble of an evening to chat with a wandering Friar, or to witness a performance of strolling minstrels; and here, four times a year, come the unwelcome officials who audit the accounts aud collect the due payments. Perhaps one share of the estate has been wholly separated, and is held by the occupant of the dismantled fort and his family; an unproductive tract is kept uncultivated for the cattle of all the sharers to graze on, like the "Lammas-lands" in many parts of England; some of the land has passed, under mortgage, into the possession of the village banker. All alike have neglected their cultivation for a year before the settlement; and, as the inspecting officer approaches, they come out to meet him, wearing their oldest clothes, and complaining in various tones and manners of the ruin that has overtaken them. The officer accompanies them, and is carefully taken first to the plantations, the grazing-ground, and any especially impossible bit that has been lying waste since the creation of the world. But he will soon learn to judge for himself; he has before him the manured homestead, the loamy uplands, the levels for easy irrigation; the wells, their number and average depth. All these things noted, he goes to his camp to bathe and breakfast, and then turns out in front of his tent under the mango trees, where a space is roped in for the headmen and officials, the general public watching from without. There the preparation of the record of rights goes on with all possible scope for complaint and answer, while the settlement officer steals a moment to compare his notes with former records, checking them by oral and written reports.

In this way great progress was made in the pre-assessment work, materials were collected for calculation, and assessments were ultimately prepared for four unions (or *parganas*) chosen as representing differently situated portions of the District, of which there are several, somewhat distinctly marked from others in regard to soil, distance from the surface of water-level, facility of water-supply, or its excess indicated by percolation and swamping.

But so much labour was not be undertaken with impunity in an extreme climate. The constant use of one's eyes over crabbed foreign MS. threatened loss of sight; the constitutions of all of us became anæmic; the family was ordered to Europe; and the doctors advised that I should follow before the hot weather: I only remained until I had completed the report of

what had been done up to date. The winter of 1861-62 was the culmination of my official prosperity, which declined thenceforth, although from no fault of my own. The substance of what I had to report before leaving was nothing to be ashamed of. In most of the *parganas* the survey was complete, the village maps having been prepared, in which the boundaries of each field were traced by plane table, and the areas recorded on a corresponding field book. The record of rights and other pre-assessment papers had been completed, and the assessments announced in four *parganas*, on the most assured basis, and with as little change as possible in the circumstances and conditions of the agriculturists. The valuation of the assets had been based, so far as it could be, on the recorded rent-rolls: where we could not find a fair rental fixed by mutual agreement, we had to look to *pargana* rates, and actual appraisement of the produce, checked by obvious means of irrigation and transport, but leaving out all consideration of improvements due to the exertions of the landlords. There was also the question of past coercive processes, showing how the last assessment had been borne and the ease or difficulty which had attended its payment. I had now been nearly fifteen years in India; my health was shattered, my eyesight threatened; it was absolutely necessary to take a few months' rest and change. But I felt confidence in the principles on which I had worked, and I ventured to conclude my report by saying that, if I were allowed to return next year, I could guarantee the work being finished, to general satisfaction, in another two years.

But I reckoned without my host. The deductive official whom I have mentioned as my perpetual blight, was the Member of the Revenue Board to whom I was immediately subject; and we had lately engaged in two controversies, the result of which had not been such as to diminish any hostile feelings with which he might regard his unoffending subordinate. I have already shown that he objected to me because, as he said, I looked on everything as an open question. To me, on the other hand, he appeared to suffer from that deductive habit of mind which has been thought to characterise all North Britons. A principle laid down by superior authority was for him an established fact; and if the Government of India had declared that water ran up hill, he would have accepted the declaration as a law of nature. The consequence often was that he failed to win from subordinates who used their powers of observation and reflection, the cordial acquiescence which was essential to success; and he was, perhaps, served best by the less able and straight-forward.

An illustration of the doctrinary pedantry which haunts the cleverest bureaucrats occurred during the settlement operations.

A class of tenants had been created by custom, somewhat resembling the copyholders of an English manor, in that they held by virtue of the village record, and paid customary rents, which, indeed, were often higher than the market-rates. The troubles of the past three years had pressed hard upon these men, some of whom had ceded their privileges to the manorial proprietors for money-payments, descending to the position of ordinary unprivileged tenants. When Mr.——came round to inspect, the matter was brought to his notice, and he at once announced that such transactions could not be recognised, and that the superior *status* of these tenants, not being transferable, must continue to be entered on the rent-roll, whatever might be the expressed wish of the parties. I could only bow in my ministerial capacity; but I was constrained to remind him, that, whatever registers I might record as settlement officer would be open to reconsideration in a Court-of-law. Should suits in which such transfers were in question come before me or any other official sitting in his judicial capacity, they would be determined according to evidence: and would, in all probability, be amicable proceedings, having, for object and result, the declaration that the transfer had taken place and must be recorded. This view of matters took my worthy chief by surprise: he had been brought up to consider such transactions as beyond the pale of good policy; and he seemed to have difficulty in conceiving the well-known legal maxim of *factum valet*—a thing done will be valid even though we disapprove. I may add that the transferability of these rights has long since received legal recognition.

Another matter in which my humble opinions appeared to him worthless at the time, arose out of the deputation to the districts affected by the famine of that distinguished officer, the late Colonel Baird Smith, of the Bengal Engineers, an old friend of my own, and a man of singular intelligence and versatility. Backed by his excellent colleague, Captain (now Sir) Alexander Taylor,* he had been an important agent in the capture of Delhi, where he was in charge of the Engineer Park until he was wounded. He afterwards became Superintendent of the Calcutta Mint; and was, in 1860, deputed to inquire into the causes and cures of scarcity and other economic questions. He was a welcome guest wherever he went; and his report led to the re-opening of questions which were supposed to have long since obtained the seal of practical success. An opinion arose in the Press, in Parliament, and in official

* General Sir A. Taylor, G. C. B., has since 1880, been President of the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. Smith died on his way home, soon after his tour in Hindustan. He was in the prime of life and on the threshold of the Temple of Fame.

circles, that the land-revenue could be compounded for by a fixed annual payment, or that there might be, what it was the fashion to call "A sale of the Fee-simple." This opinion led to proposals for the introduction into Upper India of the principle of "Permanent Settlement," whereby those who held manorial rights and contracted with the State for payment of the assessed revenues, should be recognised as proprietors holding at a perpetual land tax estimated according to the prices of the day. Mr———floated on the rising tide, and a controversy took place between us, of which traces may be found in the Blue-book published by order of Parliament, and in an article that appeared in *Blackwood* about the end of 1862. The whole scheme has long since been confuted by the logic of events.

But all the friction arising out of these discussions had an evil effect on the fortunes of one who would have been better advised to have obeyed in silence. The Lieutenant-Governor was like King Geroge III. and his Queen, who thought Miss Burney should have served them till she fell dead at their feet. Inspired by the hostile Board, he resented one's going while the settlement work was still unfinished; he appointed a permanent successor to me, who finished off the work with commendable diligence, wrote his final report, and received the thanks of Government. Unhappily for all concerned, his settlement soon broke down, collapsing at the touch of practice. Other officers were sent to amend its errors; fresh appraisements and assessments were found necessary in the *parganas* which he had dealt with; nearly sixteen years passed before the district emerged from the crisis.

[As this is an unavoidably egotistic narrative, I may perhaps be pardoned for anticipating a later record, and adding that the revising officers did not disturb my part of the work; and that, about twenty years after my report had been submitted, the Government issued its final resolution on the subject. It was then announced, on the highest authority, that the success which was ultimately secured, was largely due to "the care and discrimination with which Messrs. Keene and Colvin worked, and the excellence of the results obtained.*]

This being the last mention that may have to be made of district work in camp, there are one or two considerations, of abiding interest, which seem to require a word. Camp-life brings the superior officials into direct contact with the people. I would not say one unnecessarily harsh word against an

* *Resolution of Government*, 7th April 1882. This tardy acknowledgment was not made until too late to benefit me; to Colvin, of course, it was of no value, as he had long passed to serener regions—where, beyond these voices, there is the peace which comes of prosperity.

underpaid and overworked class; but it is a distinct advantage when, for half the year, the peasantry can see their rulers at work, and feel that the influence of the native staff, technically known as *Amla*, is not all powerful. However free from the grosser forms of malevolence and corruption we may try to make these employés, it is obvious that they have great opportunities of gaining the confidence of their superiors, and of making the most of those opportunities out of doors. In the summer they can surround their officers with a cordon of messengers with whom they have an undertaking; these men are all their creatures, and form the tribe of process servers and orderlies who attend the men in authority at office and in their homes. The heat keeps the Englishman from going abroad, save in driving to his court-house and back; and an appearance is created which is expressed in the popular couplet:—*Hakim Bandar, Amla Kalandar*;

> As the clerks their music play,
> Justice Jacko jumps all day.

To fee the *Amla* is thus conceived to be a matter of supreme importance; and they naturally accept the situation. In the camping season, however, things are somewhat changed; unless an officer be peculiarly sluggish and of defective character, the web is broken, and the shrine of justice stands unveiled before its humblest votary.

I did not learn the lesson of independence, as may be readily believed, from my deductive North Briton. This officer was, indeed, a great professor of high principles with a very decorous nomenclature; one being "accessibility," and the other "loyalty." But what he meant by being "accessible" was, to live during the hours of work amongst obsequious underlings; while his spare moments were devoted to inquisitions into the conduct and repute of the absent, in secret interviews with interested and designing Asiatics. Of these, however, enough leaked out to inspire general want of confidence, for it was more than suspected that officers who kept themselves most aloof from the influence of the native staff, were not, by any means, most favourably spoken of by those who were consulted by the "accessible" gentleman. And what he understood by being "loyal" may be conjectured from what has been already said of his readiness to adopt, as an oracle, any fleeting idea of his superiors. The application, indeed, of these principles, by a man of much industry, intelligence, and conduct, at least negatively pure, conduced to personal prosperity, if not to genuine success. His information was not always accurate, as may be seen from the one example noted in Malleson and Kane IV, 69*n*, when he caused a bloody surprise of British troops: while his habit of unquestioning, and even

enthusiastic compliance, sometimes led him into positions that might have been ludicrous if they had not been productive of disaster. But he went through his term of service much trusted by his superiors, and promoted to all sorts of high and influential posts; subscribing to missions and charities, and generally respected as much as was compatible with a vague though widespread belief that he was as superior to the bewilderments of doubt, as he was proof against all temptations to impulsive action. But he was "loyal," and he was "accessible."

This much about the treatment of the *Amla*, which is a matter at least as important now as it was then, when the superior officers were all English gentlemen connected from birth with India, and often speaking one of the native languages as a tongue acquired in the nursery. The modern men are of a more miscellaneous extraction; many, perhaps, ignorant of Indian things, save as they may have learned them in preparing for examinations; harassed by the depreciation of the rupee; disliking the country, and not in sympathy with the people. If such there be in the ranks of the modern Indian Civil Service, I should like to say to them: Be truly loyal and accessible; obey your superiors in all things, but respectfully point out mistakes; be courteous to all, but do not make confidants of the *Amla*, or allow the people to think you influenced. And, when you go into camp, assure yourself by personal observation, that no purveyance is made in your name, and that all supplies for yourself or your attendants, are compensated by fair and punctual payment. Avoid all forms of *espionage*; and destroy, publicly and without perusal, all anonymous letters.

CHAPTER VI.

1862—63.

I must now, for a time, turn to more familiar scenes. If my life as Collector of Muzafarnagar had been the culmination of my official prosperity, the next few months—though darkened by domestic sorrow—were the most beneficial to the mind. My family had gone off by a steamer called "The Jason" to Europe, because it was thought that a long sea voyage would do them good, and that a steamer going round the Cape would combine the advantages of the sea with some of the certainty of modern navigation. When my time came, I left Calcutta by the P. and O. booked as far as Egypt; and arrived in due course at Suez. Here I agreed with two friends to spend a short time in Egypt, which was then a less known country than it has since become. In those days there was no Suez Canal, the very railway to Alexandria was a novelty—Shepheard's was the only European hotel in Cairo, and was itself in a very

undeveloped condition; Messrs Cook had not begun their conquest of the country. But we chartered a *Dahabia*; visited Memphis and the Pyramids; gathered relics in the desert; and inspected a highly decorated temple, glowing with painted scenes of ancient Egyptian life on the walls, which had been lately discovered by M. Mariette and disencumbered of sand. After a very pleasant time, we took ship at Alexandria on board an Austrian Lloyd's steamer bound for Trieste, and commanded by a brave little Montenegrin, named Florian, who played the guitar and sang Italian songs to his own accompaniment. Our passengers were of various kinds; two German Princes who kept much aloof: some Frenchmen of position with whom I had already become acquainted in Egypt; an ex-Governor of Bombay with his son; a Prussian *savant*, and a miscellaneous medley of singers, priests, and bagmen. The "America" also carried five lions and three giraffes, travelling in unwonted companionship from their native Africa to some European menagerie. She was a seaworthy and comfortable boat, ploughing her leisurely way across the Mediterranean in the calm spring weather, never losing the land,—land of constant interest, alike for beauty and for historical associations. The French passengers proved charming company: the eldest being the Marquis de B—whose brother held a high office at the Court of Napoleon III, while he was himself a favourite of the Emperor, and an unofficial agent of his diplomacy. Among others, we had a shipmate who was an orderly Officer to the Czar, and who spoke French with such terrible perfection, as to irritate the younger passengers of that nation, accustomed to the licence of Parisian *argot*.*

We had lovely weather, and the daylight hours passed quickly and agreeably on deck, as we glided past the island shores of the Mediterranean. First came into view the coast of Crete and the mountain-snows of Ida, over 8,000 feet above the level of the sea: Cape Matapan and Navarino Bay were hidden by the shades of night; on the following morning we reached Zante, "the flower of the Levant," a lovely little region, with harbour girt by a zone of villas, gardens, and wooded hills, scored by shepherds' paths. On the starboard lay Ithaca, where a site was pointed out as "the grave of Ulysses." Passing by Santa Maura, we cast anchor in the fine harbour of Corfu, then about to be restored to the people of the Ionian Islands.† The scenery and climate here seemed as fine as the

* Among the passengers I ought not to forget to name Mr. T. H. Thornton (now C. S. I.) a Member of the Civil Service who afterwards rose to high distinction.

† The "United States of the Ionian Islands," constituted by the Congress of Vienna, under a British Protectorate, were offered to the Greek

world could show; and we could well imagine what a pleasant quarter it must have furnished to the British Officer, with the occasional diversion of a shooting excursion on the neighbouring hills of Epirus. The town was well-built and showed the benefits of Western civilisation in the pavement and drainage of the streets; in such respects it formed a striking contrast with Egyptian cities, where we had seen things more oriental than in India. Soon after leaving this seeming land of Cockaigne, we entered the Adriatic, and went up that historic sea, between Italy and Illyria, and amid memories of Pyrrhus and Cæsar, and St. Paul. After fifteen years of Asia, passed at a distance of more than a thousand miles of hot soil from the sea, the pleasure of floating on the calm water under an April sun and in company with refined men of the world "may be more easily imagined than described." Steaming between Lissa and Spalatro, past the hilly shores of Dalmatia and the flatter coasts of Croatia and Istria, we came by the end of the fifth day to Trieste—a fine town to those of us who had been long in the East. Alexandria and Corfu had been but a half-change; here we were unquestionably back in Europe. In the old town is a Byzantine cathedral of enormous antiquity; and the streets of the new town astonish the traveller by containing massive posts for him to lean against under the fury of the mountain-wind. Twenty-two miles to the N. E. lie the famous caves of Adelsberg, reached by a railway which was one of the earliest of those experiments in mountain engineering of which the "Bhore Ghât" of Bombay is now a large and famous example. Some of our Englishmen went off to see these wonders of art and nature; I preferred to rest and go to the opera. The house was large and filled with the attentive and critical audience one only sees in countries peopled by Italians; the *prima donna* being a once celebrated singer, Mme. Borghi Mamo, and the work—*La Favorita*. When the curtain fell, I went on board a small steamer by which my passage had been already secured; the surface of the gulf was calm and the starlit sky clear; I soon fell into a pleasant sleep, from which I was awoke by daylight and the preparations for casting anchor in Venetian waters.

The sun was rising as our little vessel glided rapidly by the stern fortifications of San Nicolá del Lido, and the level rays were thrown upon a combination of the art and romance of the great Maritime Republic. The pure morning light lay on the dancing ripples of the sea, bathed the gates of the Arsenal and the Bridge of Straw, struck the statue of S. Theodore and

Kingdom in the beginning of that very year (1862) and the transfer was completed, with the consent of the people, before the end of the year following (4th November 1863).

the Winged Lion with the Book, the orange-chequered brick-work of the Ducal Palace, the Pozzi, the Piombi; raising memories of merchant-princes riding to council, and of prisoners departing over the Bridge of Sighs to tread in darkness the path to a hidden agony and an unconsecrated grave. These two contiguous bridges epitomise the medieval life of Venice.

We put up at Danieli's; the Frenchmen, the Russian Colonel, and myself: and for a few days enjoyed the present and the past. Venice, in those days, seemed more a museum than a town of living citizens, a State fallen dead, with her institutions displayed as in glass cases. It was still under the Austrian domination; and in a sort of political catalepsy, with occasional movements of delirium. The gondoliers were dull and silent, the theatres were closed, the spots where the foreign sentries paced were enclosed with gratings to guard the men from patriot poniards. The Emperor of Austria, then, as ever, conscientious, had tried to conciliate the people, moving about, during his visits to Venice, with apparent confidence. He was not actively molested, but the Venetians left him to walk unnoticed, while one of his Hungarian bands uttered its matchless military music on the Piazza. "Brutta gente gli Tedeschi," the people muttered; showing, however, some Latin recognition of the beautiful Empress to whose consideration they were indebted for the care and preservation of many a fine fresco and ancient mosaic. Otherwise Venice was much as it is now; there were more soldiers*—probably fewer priests and office-clerks.

My other experiences of what had been till lately Austrian Lombardy, can have but little claim to record. Then, as now, Verona must bring up Shakespere and Lake Garda Catullus; and every Spring the far Rhætian snows look down on the well-watered valley where young men and maidens mow the meadow-grass costumed like peasants of the opera. The only right I can possibly have to dwell on such familiar scenes, is based upon the very different conditions under which I viewed them. It was barely three years since the campaign which ended in the treaty of Villafranca, whereby the King of Sardinia and Piedmont had been enabled to extend his rule as far as Desenzano on the Lake of Garda. Here the Austrian dominions ceased, and the great army of priests and soldiers disappeared. I had the great advantage of hearing from the Marquis de B——something of the Emperor's views of the late war: and gathered that his Majesty thought himself fortunate in being able to make peace when he did, although it involved the failure of a great part of his original scheme. When announcing his

* It used to be said that the Austrians had in Venice a soldier to every adult male of the native population. Monks, friars, and *curés* seemed almost equally numerous.

intention "to free Italy from the Alp to the Adriatic," Napoleon had not only ignored the strength of the group of Austrian strongholds then known as "the Quadrilateral," he had also trusted to a dream of French military ascendency which was shared at the time by many people, but destined to a yet ruder shock of reality in coming years. Speaking of this, the Emperor's friend said he did not think Napoleon would ever go to war again: he had made the discovery that it was a very serious affair, and that officers trained in African *razzias* were not in the best state of readiness for scientific warfare. Such successes as his Majesty had gained were due to himself; he had no generals. Nor had he any taste for war or nerve to face its horrors; after his return to Paris his health was quite upset; "*il avait des insomnies affreuses*," his friend said. Any scrap of authentic information about one who then passed for the arbiter of Europe, was eagerly treasured; nor do the events of 1870 altogether annul the value of what I was told, on such excellent authority, eight years before. The Emperor entered on the war which precipitated his fall, with the full knowledge that he had gained in 1859; and the result, so tragic for himself and for France, made good his worst forebodings. Of France, indeed, the saying of the Roman poet holds good:—

"Washed in the deep, the fairer she comes forth;"

but for poor Napoleon and his dynasty, the trial must have been almost a foregone conclusion, encountered only as the least of coming evils.

After a brief tour through Milan and the Lakes, I crossed the S. Gothard on the *diligence* as far as Airolo. We were now in the month of May, but at that elevation the cold was extreme; and, in sleeping near the crest of the pass, I felt it in all my members, full as they still were of Indian malaria. Ill as I became, however, I looked with wonder on the road, now disused, which seemed an astonishing public work to be carried out by such a mere congeries of parish vestries as the Swiss Republic—winding round zig-zags, as of a vast spiral staircase; skirting the scanty edges of a mountain stream; darting over bold arches, or plunging through tunnels, where all progress seemed barred; passing the hospice-snows and winding down to William Tell's Altdorff, the roadway was always smooth, well-fenced, and all maintained out of reasonably collected customs-revenues. The little Federation did great things, and scorned to pry into the bags and boxes of the travellers for whose convenience she did them. The modern tourist, steaming through the mountain, can form little notion of the grand doings of man and Nature above his head.

At Lucerne I found rest and partial recovery from the chill caught at Airolo, and enjoyed the beautiful old town, surrounded on the northern side by her old bulwarks, with the Righi—as yet unscored by rails—on the eastward, while cloud-capped Pilatus frowned upon the west, and the Lake of the forest-cantons stretched a storm-tossed surface of nearly thirty miles to the south. There was not much to see in the town, excepting the bridge over the Reuss, painted with the "Macabre" scenes described in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*. But at the time of my visit, the Lion monument of the Swiss Guard was still exhibited by a survivor of that fearful morning in 1792 when the faithful soldiers were slain by the mob of Paris, to the number of 780 officers and men, before they received the order of the feeble Louis XVI., to retire to their barracks. The monument, as all know, is a choice work by Thorwaldsen, a dying Lion with an arrow in his side; and the old man, in a scarlet uniform, who was then its guardian, was a survivor of the fight, named Paul Joss. Little could the boy who saw the "Ocean-tide" roll up on that August morning, have thought that he would escape its waves, to return to his native mountains and live there for seventy years and more. "Hewn out of living rock, the Lion rests there, by the still lake waters, in lullaby of distant tinkling *rance des-vaches*, the granite mountains dumbly keeping watch all round."*

After a short time in that part of Switzerland the state of my health compelled me to seek Paris, where I might have a little rest and treatment. My French travelling companions showed me great kindness; and, being all men of social position, they were able to do so in a very interesting way; but I was ill, anxious about my wife and children, and neither willing nor able to take a very active part in the somewhat exciting life of the French capital, then in the spring time of the year and of the Imperial system. The Emperor Napoleon III. was surrounded by men and women determined to make the most of their opportunities; and Daudet's tale, *Le Nabab*, only gives a refined and artistic picture of the life and manners of the time. The best comment on the whole was, perhaps, uttered, years later, by one of its originators, General Fleury. Being Ambassador at St. Petersburgh in September 1870, he received the news of the overthrow with the cynical remark:—"Any way we have had eighteen years of excellent amusement (*nous nous sommes b———ment amusés.*)"

I hastened to quit the brilliant city of Comus, and passed the remainder of the summer in sickness and sorrow—mostly

* For a vivid picture of this scene of mercenary faithfulness, see Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Vol. II, Book VI. I fear, however, that the mountains round Lucerne are not of "granite,' but belong to the Tertiary formations.

at Tunbridge Wells, where my dear father was living. The season was one of almost uninterrupted rain ; the fever hung about me ; my wife landed from a tedious voyage, only to die after a lingering illness borne with consummate patience ; and in September I placed the elder children at school, and gladly departed for happier scenes. After visiting friends in England and Scotland, I paid a short visit to Paris, where my former friends again received me kindly. The deepest impression that I retain of this second visit to France is that of a conversation with a distinguished Breton nobleman who was attached to the cause and person of the Comte de Chambord, the then head of the Bourbon dynasty. On my asking the Marquis what his party meant to do in the event of their "King" dying without issue, and whether they looked upon the Comte de Paris as the heir, he coolly replied : "My dear Sir ! that is nonsense (*la fusion c'est une blague*) ; the Orleans have vulgarised themselves (*se sont trop encanaillés*)." And, on my observing that it would be necessary to have some idea of a plan for future contingencies, he went on to say that old-fashioned people had a proverb to the effect that, "without being in love with the cook, one need not object to the cooking. If this present man" (jerking his thumb over his shoulder as if the Emperor stood behind) "does not wound the feelings of the Catholics, or disgrace the national flag, I think we shall all end by bowing to the Empire." Since 1863 many things have happened ; but the words are worthy of record for the light they throw upon the position and prospects of the "Legitimate" Pretender. By taking money from the Republic, and then administering to the political estate of the illustrious exile of Frohsdorff, the late Comte de Paris has been thought to have forfeited the trust of ordinary Frenchmen as much as the Bonaparte dynasty did by their faults and misfortunes ; but there was a moment when the Empire had a better chance than the House of Orleans.

In the early spring I took leave of Paris and set forth with two English companions—both old friends—for the south of France. We made a short stay at Bordeaux, then a *grandiose* but quiet city, where we admired the Cathedral, containing some features of Romanesque architecture, a fine pointed Gothic choir, and some rich old stained glass. The northern gate is finely sculptured, and bears the name of "the English King," a vague echo of the time when Guienne belonged to the Plantagenet : here we saw a crucifix said to have come from Jerusalem and to have been presented to the Church by St. Louis ; the face differed from the type usually adopted and resembled a yellow-skinned and black-haired Oriental. From Bordeaux a six hours' journey took us to Bayonne, a queer old town of

Basque origin, with an old fort, the work of Vauban, and still boasting of impregnability. We visited the mouth of the Adour, whose changes have greatly harmed Bayonne, and passed a day at Biarritz, then in the full enjoyment of fashion and Imperial favour. There was then no railway in the Pyrenean region, and travelling still possessed some of its old uncomfortable romance in Spain. Our *diligence* took us through S. Jean de Luz and to the banks of the Bidassoa, the stream that bounds the two countries; and it was fortunate for us that all had passports; for they were unlawfully but imperatively demanded by the Spanish Police. This mixture of irregularity and pedantry was characteristic of a backward and semi-oriental administration: we tested the gendarmes and their officer fairly, explaining that we were peaceful travellers, who were not required to have passports either by French or by Spanish law; and it was only when threatened with immediate incarceration that we opened our boxes and produced the documents, which were fortunately in proper order. That no explanation could be possible on account of misconception, will be clear from the fact that one of our party spoke Spanish with quite remarkable fluency. I do not know what is the present practice; but the "things of Spain" move slowly.

Beyond Yrun, a small Basque town, the road went through mountain scenery as far as S. Sebastian, where we arrived, cold and weary, as the darkness fell. Next morning, however, was lovely, and we enjoyed the panorama of town and harbour as seen from the hill of La Mota, with graves of England's dead about us, while the Atlantic fawned peacefully upon the promontories. For a *peseta*, about two pound sterling, we hired carriage as far as Tolosa, a dull little country-town, where there seemed nothing eatable but bread, and where sherry was sold at a high price, done up like a liqueur, with a label on the bottle. Of the better Spanish wines one saw nothing, only a raw and rancid sort of "black strap," tasting strong of leather. A second drive took us next day through the hilly country as far as Oloyagoita, a place which had been already reached by a section of the Madrid railway. We here descended the highlands, leaving the provinces so often the scene of revolt and civil war; and we passed the night in an old-fashioned "*fonda*," where the dining-room was over the stables, and the waiters were tawny wenches in an elementary stage of civilisation. Next morning we took the train and steamed slowly through a country more and more level; where, through a veil of mist, we descried the fields on which Wellington won the fight of Vittoria (1813). We spent a day at Burgos, visiting the famous cathedral; with the citadel that four times repulsed the Iron Duke, and the remains of the Campéador, Ruy Diaz,

("The Cid"), which once, they say, made way through opposing hosts of the Arabs, victorious in death.

The train took us as far as San Chidrian, where we found a *diligence* setting out for a night journey through the Guadaramas to the Escorial. It was a memorable experience; the carriage, drawn by twelve mules, of which all but the leading pair were driven in hand.

On the crest of the Pass the snow lay round the dwarfed fir trees, and a stone lion marked the highest point, more than five thousand feet above sea-level. The cold was intense, and it was with general congratulations that we left our vehicle for a bath and breakfast at Villalba, proceeding by train to the Escorial.

This little excursion through the Basque provinces and Old Castile is mentioned only because, being made at the very dawn of railway communication, it marks the meeting of two epochs. Inhabited by a peculiar people, with a language of its own, and no known congeners, the wild, thinly-peopled, country, hardly escaped from the Middle Ages, was a vanishing record of old Europe. The Basques have now lost the greater part of their peculiarities, their home-rule, their exemption from conscription, their readiness to fight for lost causes. At the time of my visit every Basque was still "noble," whatever his calling; every village *curé* was his own bishop; there was a Spanish frontier, where your baggage was searched for contraband; the churches were shapeless cubes with stumpy belfries; in the houses of the villagers glass was an unknown luxury; the people preserved their mysterious old tongue and national costume—red cap, shaven faces, cloaks over one shoulder—with a grand simplicity of bearing and sobriety of life inherited from remote antiquity. In Castile matters were a little different, less interesting, though always medieval.

The Escorial is an enormous pile, rivalling in desolation the bare hills on whose skirts it lies, quite without external decoration, and full of small windows, like a modern manufactory. Some notion of it may be formed by recalling the fact that the main dome is over three hundred feet high, and the length of one face of the building more than a furlong. Before the fire of 1872, it was almost in the same state as when originally built by Philip II., in the first half of the 16th century; some of the rooms hung with fine old Flemish tapestry, others inlaid with rich *marquèterie* wood-work; some curious battle-pieces had been left upon the walls when most of the paintings went to the Museum of Madrid. The chapel is, as most people know, as large as a cathedral; the high altar is approached by steps under which is the crypt described by Macaulay, where, on shelves round an octagonal vault, we saw the black marble

coffins of Charles V. and his successors.* There was but one vacant shelf; and, "when that is filled," said the guardian who showed the vault, "it is said that the dynasty will end." That shelf has since been filled; and only a fragile child is left to carry on the royal line. The man pointed out the sarcophagus of Charles V., the same in which that Emperor had once celebrated his own obsequies; and he assured us that he had seen the august remains there, in perfect preservation, a few days before. We began making up a purse to induce him to remove the lid, when a noisy party of tourists, descending the stairs, put an abrupt end to the work of corruption. We then ascended to the gloomy cabinet where the cold and bigoted Philip used to sit writing notes which deluged his dominions with war and famine, while he listened to the praises of the Lamb through the open window: here he bore a certain passive part in divine service without leaving his chair, a chair still standing in the same place as it occupied when he died upon it, after a long and painful illness.

We arrived at Madrid in windy March weather, and saw the Prado, with the Queen and her priestly-looking husband in a heavy carriage drawn by six horses and escorted by Lancers. The heir apparent, afterwards the short-lived Alphonso the Twelfth, came behind in a second carriage drawn by mules. I need not stop to describe the Royal Museum, where the picture gallery forms the chief attraction of the otherwise third-class capital of Spain. After a short stay in Madrid I resolved on taking leave of my companions, in order to be at Rome in time for the celebrations of Holy Week: my visit to Spain, therefore, might almost be entitled "Spain unvisited," for I had to dispense with Toledo and with Cordova, to give up the glories of Granada and the marvel of Seville, and to leave the Peninsula without seeing any of the things that people usually go there to see. I travelled by train to Alicante, and there found a small coasting steamer which took me by way of Barcelona to Marseilles through the stormy Gulf of Lyons. At Marseilles I found another vessel in which I passed along the bright and varied shores of the Riviera, landing at Genoa, and again at Leghorn. Having visited the arsenal at Genoa in company with the Director, to whom I had an introduction, I tried to find out the strength and direction of the newly-born Italian pride of country. This young officer was from Naples, and the first thing one noticed was that he looked on himself as an exile in a foreign land, which was a bad symptom. Instead of telling me any more of his own thoughts, he tried to gather mine, and to learn what I thought of the prospects of a poor nation that engaged in warlike adventures. We looked

* *History of England*, Chap. XXIV.

at an ironclad that he was building, and agreed that it was an expensive luxury ; perhaps she was afterwards involved in the disastrous sea-fight at Lissa.

From Leghorn I visited Pisa and Florence ; and I recollect an intelligent cab-driver giving a condensed opinion on politics at the last-named city, destined to be for a short while the capital of the newly-constituted kingdom. Being asked whether he preferred the new state of things to the late grand-ducal *régime*, the shrewd fellow answered that " it was no business of his, all he knew was that the *taxes were already doubled.* " What, I wonder, do he and his fellows say now (1894), when the contributions have risen to an average of £ 6 *per annum* for each household ? *Tantae molis !*

At Rome I saw all the obligatory sights ; but the eternal city was in sufficiently strange conditions, thirty years ago, to justify a few words. The government was that of the Church ; paternal, or rather motherly ; of which the first sample was an examination of baggage not so much for arms, explosives, or dutiable goods, as for French novels and photographs likely to corrupt the innocence of Roman morals. The Holy Father was still " Papa e Rè ", throned in the Quirinal and supported by a garrison of 70,000 French soldiers ; the Cardinals were the peers and leading officials ; the " Senator " drove to the capital in a medieval carriage. The town was confined, unsanitary, abounding in narrow medieval streets, among which were interspersed many ancient villas with still and stately old gardens. Ambassadors from foreign Powers resided at the Papal Court, our own country being represented by Lord Odo Russell, afterwards Lord Ampthill ; and the Consul was Joseph Severn, the faithful friend of the poet Keats. * I had the honour of knowing both : having brought a letter for Lord Odo from his famous uncle Lord Russell.

A singular comment on the political situation of 1863, and on the passions it aroused, came under notice one day in Holy Week, while attending service in the Church of S. John Lateran. A friar was in the pulpit—a chosen orator, who was preaching on the topic of the moment. " You do not need," he said, " that I should expatiate on the sorrows of the Divine sufferer which the Church is just now commemorating ; you have them reproduced before you in the sorrows of His Vicar on earth, our most Holy Pope and King. And remember ! It was not on Pilate that the chief blame fell." Then turning to his book, he read in Latin : " Pilate asked for water and washed his hands before the people, saying : I am innocent of the

* This excellent artist and man tended the poet's death-bed and provided his tomb : he himself lived till 1879. See " Life, Friendships, and Letters." 1892.

blood of this just man, see ye to it; and the whole people answering said: His blood be upon us and upon our children." Then, slowly raising his right hand and looking round on the hushed congregation, he added after a pause and with a thrilling change of tone;—"Il sangue del Cristo è sopra *voi*." (The blood of Christ is upon *you*.) The effect was instantaneous, even on a heretic.

All these things are now altered or destroyed. The Pope is restricted to the neighbourhood of S. Peter's, and the Quirinal harbours another king. The population of the city has doubled; many old villas have been removed to make way for modern rows and squares; a number of new bridges cross the Tiber; broad, straight thoroughfares pierce the quarters once crowded with crooked lanes and mean houses. The foreign quarter has been transferred from the foot of the Pincian to the slopes and summits of the central region; and, for good or for evil, the Rome of that day is no more. To the poet, the artist, and the student of history, modern Rome can appeal only with a voice half-stifled in the din of politics and commerce; the pilgrims of my day were probably more distinguished than some of a later date; among them Gibson and Story, Miss Hosmer and Miss Cushman, Poingdestre, Coleman, Alfred Gattley, and the German Overbeck, are names of some whom I recall to memory.

S. Peter's, I must frankly own, seemed disappointing, as a mere piece of architecture. It must be admitted that, for the largest temple on earth—I suppose it is—there is something of failure if it does not produce the effect of vastness. It seemed as if the mountainous mass of masonry only revealed its true dimensions when looked at from a distance; so that, as in the interior (and there, probably, from the want of graduated proportions) the sense of scale is not at first experienced, consequently one has to learn from the guide-book that the letters of the inscription below the cupola are higher than an average man, and so forth. Nevertheless, anyone who has seen the great building holding twenty thousand persons as though there were an ordinary congregation, or witnessed the procession of the Pope to the High Altar to celebrate High Mass on Easter-morning, has no one but himself to blame if he does not form an abiding ideal of the majesty of this central shrine of Christendom.

My stay in Rome was not long enough to please me. I stayed, however, longer than Byron did; and Byron's eye and hand enabled him to make immortal use of his brief opportunity, by the help of which later travellers have been enabled to abridge their experience. Accompanied by a scholarly associate, my old friend John Sherer, I visited galleries, churches, modern studios, and ancient monuments; made excursions to

Adrian's Villa, Tivoli, Tusculum, and "the Alban Mount;" botanised in the baths of Caracalla, and felt the magic of moonlight among the shadows of the Colosseum. My health improved, and my load of grief was lightened; so that, when, after seeing the illuminations of the Cathedral dome, and the blessing of the city and the world, and passing the Fountain of Trevi without stopping to taste its water, I took the train for Naples, I acknowledged that the world could give some joy in return for those that she takes away.*

Our party had secured rooms in a hotel on the shore of the Bay of Naples; and we spent a pleasant time in seeing the sights of the neighbourhood. The town has now grown in population and area, brimming over the adjacent hills; in 1863 the popular promenade was still the Chiaja, and the Toledo† the main street of commerce; but, with that exception, we saw little that the modern tourist does not still behold; the tideless Bay with its satin sheen, the greys and purples of the islands, the beautiful hills and lovely light from Posilippo to Sorrento, the S. Carlo theatre and the sculptures and pictures of the great Museum. The noisy harmonies and sunny air of the lively town are unchanged; and sanitary science has done much to remedy its occasional lapses into epidemic. In one respect, at least, the modern traveller has a decided advantage: the excavations at Pompeii have, since my time, become more extensive and more scientific; while the reproduction of ancient life, by pouring liquid gypsum into the hollows where the dead were encased in the debris of the eruption, has caused a startling resurrection of those ancient Romans.‡

After visiting Sorrento, Amalfi, Salerno, Paestum, I crossed to Sicily, and awaited the steamer at Messina, a city which seemed not to have got much further than the Middle Ages, with unpaved ways, lighted by oil lamps. On the whole review of these two short visits to *Italy*, I seem conscious of a vision of change and hopeful speculation which the succeeding thirty years have not entirely made good. The Peninsula was still unsettled, and her condottiere-hero, Giuseppe Garibaldi, was in that excitable state produced in simple natures by new distrust of all that he had been wont to lean on: it was said at the time that he kept three donkies in Caprera, whom he named, respectively, "Pio Nono," "Vittorio-Emanuele," and "Napoleone;" that he was about to resign his seat in the Legislature,

* There is a well known local belief that whoever drinks of Trevi, before leaving Rome, cannot fail to return at some future day.

† Now Via di Roma.

‡ This ingenious method had been originated a year or two before my visit; and I saw a few of the casts. It is strange that no *books* appear among the discoveries; although many have been found in the neighbouring ruins of Herculaneum, none have proved important.

and neither friend nor foe could tell what his next step might be. His frame of mind was typical of that of the classes of the Italian population of whom a traveller saw the most. Without either the qualities or the defects of their great guerilla-leader, they were like him in having the mood of newly-emancipated schoolboys. Long centuries of despotic administration, with light taxation in a fine climate, where human nature has few secondary wants, had made them amiable but indolent, easily satisfied physically, yet quick to take their own parts in private quarrels. At one moment a man would be content with a song and a kiss in the shade of a vine; at the next, the knife that had cut the grapes might be plunged in the heart of his friend. The higher classes were what you read of in Stendhal's *Chartreuse de Parme*; the women passing their time in intrigue or in a semi-oriental retirement, the men at clubs, caffès, and theatres; the moral tone said to be inferior, though travellers might have no time or opportunity to judge for themselves. French residents, though not squeamish, spoke of the relations between Italian men and women as of exceptional irregularity.

This romantic form of existence was verging to extinction, to be succeeded by a *régime* of political activity tempered by financial anxiety. One is tempted to think that the old times were better, unless we modify that conclusion by reflecting that, perhaps, man is not made for a mere life of ease, and that the dignity of being citizen of a great nation is more to be valued than the *dolce far niente* of a glorified *lazzaroni*. For my own poor part, I could not but feel that all my new experience had made me an altered man; as much so, perhaps, as any Italian of the day.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. III.—THE ISOLATION OF KARACHI, AN IMPERIAL MISTAKE.

DURING the last fifty years trunk lines of railway communication have been established throughout the greater part of British India. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras have each many lines radiating inland from them as centres, so that all the surrounding country has direct communications with a port—if not the nearest port.

But Karachi?

Karachi is not only isolated, not only has it no direct railway communication with India, but the extensive tract of land running from it 700 miles inland to Delhi, and over 200 miles in width, called Rajputana, is, as far as railways are concerned, almost an absolute blank. This is a strange fact, and the more closely it is looked into, the more strange does it appear.

The present paper deals in no way with the local interests of Karachi, as such matters affect the prosperity of but 120,000 inhabitants, and poor inhabitants. It is confined to a consideration of Imperial interests; it deals with the commercial claims of some 20,000,000 of people, inhabiting perhaps the richest part of India; with the consideration of Karachi as a base for military operations in the North-West and North-East, and with the Imperial necessity for a Government naval arsenal in eastern waters.

To clear the way, let it first be considered what is the position and what are the resources of Karachi? Karachi is a port on the west coast of India, five hundred miles north of Bombay. To find what country should be served by Karachi as a port, let a line be drawn from Karachi to Bombay, and bisected, and let a perpendicular line be drawn from the bisection inland. This line, drawn inland, runs from a little south of Jamnagar, in Kathiawar, to Aligarh, some fifty miles south of Delhi—Delhi being a few miles nearer to Karachi, as the crow flies, than to Bombay. It is clear that the country north of this line would be most economically served by Karachi as a port. Not only is the greater part of this country *not* served by Karachi, but it exhibits a feature absolutely unique on the map of India. This country, nearly to the Indus, and the whole of it known as Rajputana, is (with the exception of a branch line from Ajmere to Bikanir) *a complete blank* as far as railway lines are concerned. The fact will scarcely be believed, though it is a fact, that most of this land, unserved by railways, is good agricultural land, which would give remunerative local traffic.

Let us see what is the present position of Karachi as to internal railway communication. Karachi, as the crow flies, is some 700 miles from Delhi; but by railway it is 1,170 miles distant. The existing line runs north-east from Karachi to Lahore, and then nearly due south to Delhi. However, it is the intention of Government to shorten this line by the construction of chord lines from Hyderabad to Rohri, and from Bahawalpur, through Bhatinda, to Delhi. It will be assumed, then, that these new lines of communication are in enxistece. They will bring Karachi within 919 miles of Delhi. Will Karachi then be no longer isolated?

Now, in the first place, two lines inland from Karachi have been surveyed and found practicable. They will be afterwards referred to in more detail. By the one, Karachi would be brought within 737 miles of Delhi; by the other, within 749 miles. So, by the new chord lines, Delhi will still have to pay freight over 140 miles more than it should if rightly served, Delhi being now served by Bombay 890 miles distant. But there is a further objection. Granted that the shorter line by the proposed chords to Delhi will pay, it will pay only through local traffic. Rajputana and the country running up almost to Agra, which should be served by Karachi, will still remain isolated—Pachpadra, which is but 400 miles from Karachi and Bikanir, which is but 500 miles distant, will still be served by the remote port of Bombay.

So, assuming that Karachi is brought by the new chord lines within 919 miles of Delhi, it will still remain isolated; Delhi will still remain nearly 150 miles further from Karachi than it should legitimately be, while Rajputana and the rich country running almost to Agra will have no benefit at all from their natural port, Karachi. In short, while Karachi can be brought within some 750 miles of Delhi, it will now, at the best, be some 920 miles distant. That is, more than 20,000,000 of people, inhabiting a rich and productive country, must pay freight for exports and imports over nearly 140 miles more than they would if Karachi had direct communication with India.

Before dealing in detail with the two possible lines of railway which would bring Karachi within less than 750 miles of Delhi it will be well to clear away certain possible objections to Imperial expenditure on such works. These objections can be but two:—one, that Karachi is incapable of development as a port, the other that it is naturally isolated from India by a great intervening desert. Neither objection has any foundation in fact.

Dealing with the former, the reply is simple and based on indisputable facts. In 1892 there was published, by the Chairman of the Karachi Port Trust, a pamphlet headed "The Karachi Har-

bour, West Coast of India." This shows that the largest steamers can safely enter and leave the harbour ; that vessels with four hatches can load from 1,100 to 1,200 tons of grain a day ; that troops (as stated by Captain the Hon. A. G. Curzon-Howe, R. N.) can be landed more expeditiously and in far greater numbers than even at Portsmouth, while the climate is said to be, perhaps, the most salubrious and pleasant of all stations in the plains of India, and the sea passage from Karachi to Aden is not only 200 miles shorter than that from Bombay to Aden, but very much less affected by the violence of the S. W. monsoon.

But, perhaps, the most important part of this pamphlet is a plan annexed, signed by Mr. D. Morris, the Port Engineer, recording in detail a scheme, cut and dried, for additional wharfage and dock accommodation. This, carried out, would give accommodation for 138 vessels of an average of 450 feet in length and 26 feet in depth, so that the harbour would serve 4,000 vessels a year—giving each an average of 12 days in harbour—, that is, be sufficient for the entire number of ships passing through the Suez Canal. Perhaps there is no port in the world—certainly there is none in India—where such works could be carried out so cheaply and expeditiously. For, owing to the conformation of the land, reclamation and excavation are simple to a degree.

There is no question, then, as to the capabilities of Karachi as a harbour. They are certainly good ; they may possibly be fairly termed excellent. The position, too, of the port, 200 miles nearer to Aden than Bombay, has to be considered, with its advantage of freedom from the S. W. monsoon. But the facts in favour of Karachi do not end here.

Let the reader bear in mind that up to the present time Karachi is still distant from Delhi 1,170 miles by railway, and that it has no direct railway communication with India except by this circuitous route. Let it be borne in mind, too, that Karachi has been in the possession of the British only some fifty years, and that when, fifty years ago, Sind was conquered, it was but a fishing village. Let it be remembered that, during all this time, Karachi has had no assistance, except that which has been doled out to it by private capital from Bombay. And yet in spite of these apparently damning obstacles, what is the present position of Karachi ? Is it—as one might expect—still a little fishing village ?

Let statistics speak for themselves. Below are given the exports and imports and population for the years 1853 to 1893. The year 1863-64 was exceptional, as a year of the American civil war :—

Exports & Imports.		Population.
1853-54 ...	91,20384	45,000
1863-64 ...	6,66,27522	56,000
1873-74 ...	3,67,37014	60 000
1883-84 ...	8,09 11544	75,000
1893-94 ...	15,63,43791	1,20,000

Such advance is, under the given circumstances, remarkable. It is in no way the result of Government assistance—even the North-West Railway was built by the Government purely for strategic purposes. The advance, then, must be solely due to the natural advantages of Karachi as a port.

Let the country round Karachi be next considered. Is it a desert? Till lately Sind itself has been looked on as a desert; even now, to the popular mind, it is probably considered a desert. In fact, it is a rich country capable for the most part of growing any crops, given a supply of water. When the N.-W. Railway was in contemplation, the then Viceroy and his Council reported strongly that the line could never pay its expenses. The line, including that part constructed for purely strategic purposes, may be taken to pay 3½ per cent. The commercial part alone pays 8 per cent. The one thing in Sind which the Government has developed, is the system of canals. These canals pay from 8 to 11 per cent.

Turning to Rajputana the matter is not so clear, as that country, untouched by railways, is not generally known. But even here there is firm ground for holding that the land is not only not a desert, but rich and capable of great development.

Sir Edward Bradford, late Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, writing of this country—with reference to the proposed Delhi-Kotri railway—,has stated :—

"I have read with the greatest interest the notes you sent me on the proposed railway from Hyderabad to Delhi, and I cannot but feel, knowing the country as I do, that if this line is once started, there is a great future for it. I can most honestly endorse all that you have said as to the commercial, strategical, postal and other advantages of the line, and I verily believe that when once the grain that can so easily be grown in that country, which to the ordinary Indian is supposed to be a desert, finds a facility for transit, which has hitherto been denied to it, there will be an enormous increase in the cultivation. From what I have seen of the country through which the line will pass—and I have marched through it in as bad seasons as have been known for many, many years—,I regard the statements as to the barrenness and desert character of the country as a mere bugbear. I don't believe that it presents any extraordinary difficulties in the way of railway construc-

tion. I am not able to write to you at length, but you may certainly quote me in confirmation of the description of the country traversed, and the views which I know you have advanced as to the practicability of the line of railway."

Colonel Roberts, late Political Agent in Rajputana, at a meeting of the Permanent Committee for Promoting Railway Extension in Sind, held at the Chamber of Commerce at Karachi, on the 10th February 1888, said :—

"A good half of the distance between Delhi and Oomerkote is by no means the desert it is popularly supposed to be. On the contrary, from Bhiwani, near Rohtak (a place about sixty miles south east of Bikanir), the country has for years been the commercial route between Guzerat and Delhi. Old coins have been frequently dug up, and the route was only abandoned when the Mahrattas over-ran Upper India, and it has been resumed since the advent of the British. I myself have been more about Shekawati and Upper Marwar than most people ; it is the centre of a very large, ancient, and vigorous commerce, and any Company that joins Delhi and Karachi, will get the south-east Punjab wheat trade, the large wool trade of Bikanir, the salt trade of the Sujangarh and Didwara lakes, and the trade in cattle and hides of Upper Marwar at Nagore, famous for its breed of cattle and countless herds. Not far from Nagore is found the fine building stone so much used by the wealthy inhabitants of Ajmere for fronting their houses, and in this vicinity are the superb marble quarries of Makrana, from which the beautiful marble of the Taj and other buildings at Agra was procured. The Raghunathgurgh range, east of Sikar in Shekawati, is nearly 4 000 feet high, and is known to contain, at its northern apex, near Laharee, much unexploited mineral wealth. I have heard that north-east of Jeysulmere, there are numerous black buck ; these animals require better food for their sustenance than a sandy desert can produce, and, in fact, live on millet and grasses. Between Sujangarh and Jeysulmere one can drive a carriage practically all the way, with no river to cross, or other obstruction. It would be well worth a Company at home to send an expert to take a cold weather ride along the route I have indicated, and see it for themselves."

The reader who wishes for further authority may consult Sir W. W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India, where the resources of Oomerkote, Jeysulmere and Bikanir are fully stated, and the above opinions of Sir Edward Bradford and Colonel Roberts strongly supported. The description of the system of agriculture in Rajputana in the Gazetteer reads almost as a sarcasm on those who maintain that the country is a desert. For therein is described the method of cultivation *of the desert,*

and it is shown that the produce in favourable seasons is more than sufficient for the wants of the population, the benefit of the surplus produce being lost owing to the lack of railway communication, and of means for economical export.

Rajputana, it is clear, then, can in no way be fairly termed a desert, and, apart from other far more serious considerations, it must surely be a mistake that this country, equal in extent to England, should remain without the benefit of railway communication.*

Now what are the two possible lines of railway that would connect Karachi with India? Take first the Jeysulmere-Bikanir line. From Karachi to Kotri there now exists a broad-gauge railway. From Hydrabad, on the other side of the Indus, the line continues to Shadipalli, a distance of some sixty or seventy miles. The proposed line would continue the railroad from Shadipalli through Oomerkote, Jeysulmere and Bikanir to Delhi, some 550 miles. This line would open up Rajputana and bring Delhi within less than 750 miles of Karachi. Delhi is now 890 miles from its port, Bombay. Thus Delhi, if served by its true port Karachi, would be saved 140 miles of rail-haulage. What does this mean? *It means for some* 20,000,000 *of people a saving of one shilling a quarter on the export of wheat, and* 3*s.* 6*d. a bale on the import of Manchester grey shirtings.*

The second proposed line would run from Shadipalli to Pachpadra, a distance of only 205 miles. The construction of this line alone would bring Delhi within 850 miles of Karachi; but a further line of 168 miles from Kuchawan Road to Delhi would bring Delhi within 750 miles of Karachi. † This line, it would appear, it is proposed to build as a narrow-gauge line, as the existing line from Pachpadra to Kachawan Road is narrow-gauge. The advantage of the broad-gauge are obvious, as if the N. W. Railway ran the new line, they would, with the broad-gauge, have a great circle of line running from Karachi north, through the Lahore and Ferozepur districts, south to Delhi, and thence straight through new country to Karachi, without break of gauge.

Both the above lines have been surveyed by the Government and declared feasible.

What is above written is intended to show the great commercial advantages which the Imperial Government would obtain

* To prevent misapprehension, it may be as well to state that the writer is nothing to do with the promotion of any of the railways herein referred to.

† Exact distances are not given. Writing exactly, according to the surveys, the former line would be 737 miles in length, the Pachpadra line 749 miles.

by connecting Karachi with India by railway. Turn now to another aspect of the case—the position of Karachi as a base of operations in the North-West *and* the North-East, up to Peshawar.

Karachi is in direct railway communication with Quettah, and is without question the base for operations in the North-West. During the Afghan-war of 1880, Bombay was the nominal base, but Karachi was the real base, for all supplies came through Karachi. What did that war show? It showed how terribly the Commissariat was handicapped by the isolation of Karachi. Sind was literally denuded of camels, ponies and food-stuffs, and exhorbitant prices had to be paid. If the Jeysulmere-Bikanir line had been in existence, with a short cross-line from about Jeysulmere to Rohri, a tract of country the size of England would have been open to draw supplies from, cheaply and expeditiously, apart from the unquestionable strategic advantages of such a line. Even the Pachpadra railway would have given some, if not the same advantage.

But Karachi, by the Sind-Sagor line, is also in direct communication with Peshawar on the north-east. It seems strange that, with vast expenditure on the strategic lines to Quettah and Peshawar, an extensive country of supply like Rajputana, lying retired behind the Indus, should be left untouched and useless.

In the past Sir Charles Napier has pointed out, in words of almost extravagant praise, the exceptional position of Karachi as a port: Sir Bartle Frere, when Commissioner in Sind, pressed the Imperial Government for direct communication with England through Karachi: Lord Beaconsfield recognised the advantages to be gained from the development of the port, and, perhaps, had his scheme of 1880 been carried out, Karachi would not now be isolated. But since 1890—pace Sir Charles Pritchard, to whom Sind owes a deep debt of gratitude—Karachi has been left severely alone. Surely the time has come to put an end to this neglect?

Lastly the question of a Government naval arsenal in eastern waters must be touched on, but touched lightly, for the question is difficult and important, and the present writer not competent to deal satisfactorily with it.

The face of the world is studded with the coaling stations of Great Britain—a prime necessity for a country whose empire depends on command of the sea. But from the Suez Canal eastwards, past India to Australasia, nowhere has she an arsenal as a base, or docks for receiving and repairing men-of-war.

Japan has now arisen, and strong or weak, must be dealt with as a naval power, and this new fact means development by Russia of her navy in eastern waters, with a possible like increase by other great European Powers. Can England pursue

in the East the course she has till now taken? May not, at any moment, difficulties arise in Australia. Questions of trade between Australia and Japan? Questions—most dangerous of all—of Japanese, for peaceful commercial purposes, invading Australia? Can the Japanese be kept out of Australia as easily as the Chinese, with Russia in the background? Or, at the lowest, is not England now open, from more than one country, to pressure in the East, which may be used against her to influence her policy in Europe? Would she not be stronger for resistance with a naval base in India?

If an arsenal and docks for men-of-war are wanted in India, there is but one place suitable for the purpose, and that place is—Karachi. It is the true base for operations in the north-west and north-east; connected by railways with India, it would be a centre for inexhaustible supplies of draft animals and food-stuff; its waters are untouched by the violence of the south-west monsoon; its climate is better than that of any other station in the coast plains of India; it is the point of approach for any line of railway from Europe to India, and there is no place in the whole continent of Hindustan where docks could be made so easily, cheaply, and expeditiously.

"Oh! Karachi! That I might come again and see you in your glory! Empress of the East!" So, long ago, wrote a man not unknown. He was called Sir Charles Napier.

Trust in God and dry powder is good. But no great empire can exist on that basis alone. There is a hard, inflexible responsibility on those who govern one-fourth of this round world, and one-fifth of its teeming men and women, to so act that no means of defence against aggression be neglected, and no opportunity for the advance of material prosperity lost. Refusal to accept, incapacity to appreciate the responsibility, means, sooner or later, loss of empire.

F. C. CONSTABLE.

Karachi.

Since the above was first writen, the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the construction of a bridge over the Indus from Kotri.

ART. IV.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

IN this paper I propose to give, for the benefit of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, a short natural-history account of the various animals in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens which, during a visit I paid to the institution on Friday, the 26th July, 1895, appeared to me to be new to the collection and to have been exhibited therein for the first time.

The most interesting, and, at the same time, one of the rarest deer * now exhibited in the gardens, is a fine young specimen of the *Thameng*, or Brow-antlered Deer (*Cervus eldi*). The most characteristic feature of this rare deer is that the base of the antlers is situated on the frontal region of the skull, as will be noticed in the young specimen exhibited at Alipore. This species was discovered in Manipur by Captain Eld, and hence its specific name *eldi*. It is of moderate size. "Hair very coarse, shaggy in winter, thick and long about the neck in stags. Tail short, skull elongate, frontal area very narrow; premaxillaries much shorter than in *Cervus duvanceli*. Horns with an extremely long-curved brow-antler, joining the beam in such a manner that the two form one continuous curve at right angles to the pedicel. There are frequently small points on the upper surface of the brow-antler, and generally a prominent snag in the axil. The beam is unbranched for a considerable distance, generally more than half the length, and curved backwards, then outwards, and, lastly, forwards; towards the end it bears a number of small points, from two or three to eight or ten, or possibly more." The coloration of the male assumes a dark-brown, almost black hue, during the cold weather; but the females are usually of a pale rufous fawn colour. The nether parts assume a white colour during the hot season, changing to pale brown in the cold weather. There is no caudal disk. The very young have spots; but, in the specimen exhibited in the garden, white spots are to be found on the hind-quarters, and two white dorsal stripes running parallel to the vertebral ridge. The colour of the animal now

* While on the subject of rare species of deer, it will, perhaps, not be out of place to mention here, in passing, that another rare species of deer from America has recently been added to the collection of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, as will appear from the following announcement in the Calcutta *Statesman* of Friday, the 2nd August 1895:—"The latest addition to the Zoo is a rare deer, *Cariacus punctulatus*, from Guatemala. The deer was brought direct from Guatemala by Captain Doherr, of the S. S. *Baroda*, which arrived in port a few days ago, and was presented by him to the gardens."

being exhibited in the garden is a pale reddish brown. The species is distributed throughout the Manipur valley, and thence southwards through Burma and the Malayan Peninsula, and also as far eastwards as Cambodia and the island of Hainan, always in flat alluvial ground. The brow-antlered deer frequents marshy tracts of land, overgrown with grass and scrub, and is gregarious in its habits—roaming about in herds consisting of as many as ten to fifty or more individuals. Sometimes larger herds are met with. During the hottest part of the day they enter shady forest glades for protection from the heat, but, at other times, they are to be found browsing in the level meadow lands. In the tract of country about the delta of the Irrawady and in Martaban they frequent plains, even during the hot weather, where no fresh water is to be found. Swampy tracts, overgrown with wild rice and other plants, are also another favourite habitat of this beautiful deer. Their food consists of wild rice and other plants. In captivity they will live upon any vegetable food that may be given to them, and the young specimen in the Alipore garden, which is very tame and docile, readily devoured bits of ripe plantain which I gave it—eating the peel and the pulp at once. The stags begin to shed their antlers in June in Manipur, and in September in Lower Burma. The breeding season has been observed in Burma to last from March till May—the does usually giving birth to one fawn in October and November. The stags begin to get horns when they are two years old, and attain maturity in their seventh year. This deer pairs when it is about a year and a half old. The call of the doe frequently resembles a short barking grunt, but that of the stags is lower and more prolonged, and can frequently be heard during the rutting season. This animal is very rarely seen in captivity in menageries The young specimen now exhibited at Alipore was procured from Burma at a cost of Rs. 400, and is, perhaps, now the only specimen living in captivity in either India or Europe. A specimen of this deer was presented, in 1867, to the Gardens of the London Zoological Society, by A. Grote, Esq., F. Z. S., and was described at page 821 of the *Proceedings* of the Society for that year, and figured in plates 37 and 38 of volume seven of its *Transactions*. It was, perhaps, the only other specimen of this deer which ever lived in any collection. The specimen at Alipore is accommodated in a breezy, grassy paddock to the west of the compound of the Sonebursa House, which affords capital opportunities to the animal for giving free play to its natural habits.

In the middle cage of the Wolf and Hyæna House, near the Burdwan House, is exhibited, for the first time, a fine specimen

of the Spotted Hyæna of Africa *(Hyæna crocuta)*. The Hyænas belong to the sub-family *Hyænidæ*, of the carnivora, and to one genus, *Hyæna*, being allied to the *Felidæ* and the *Viverridæ*, on the one hand, and to the *Canidæ*, on the other. But some naturalists have lately been placing the Spotted Hyæna of Africa under a distinct genus, *Crocuta*, on account of its possessing "much smaller upper true molars with only one or two roots, less developed lower true molars, no mane, and some remarkable peculiarities about the female genital organs." The remains of this species *(H. crocuta)* have been found in caves near Karnul, Madras. The Spotted Hyæna *(H. crocuta)*—a specimen of which is exhibited in the menagerie at Alipore—and its African congener, the Brown Hyæna *(H. brunnea)*, pass the day-time in holes or burrows dug in the ground by the aid of their powerful fore-feet. After nightfall they usually emerge from their holes in search of food, which consists of the flesh of animals and all sorts of carrion. So great is their fondness for carrion that they are said even to commit depredations in graveyards in eastern countries—often digging out the freshly-buried corpses and making a meal of them. These hyænas have very powerful jaws, and when they bite, they hold on obstinately, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can be made to let go their hold. The call of the spotted Hyæna, when excited, is very similar to a weird, unearthly laugh, whence it is sometimes vulgarly called the Laughing Hyæna. The specimen in the Alipore garden is full grown and of a dirty white colour. Its shaggy coat is mottled all over with a number of circular spots of a blackish colour. On a rough comparison of the species with a specimen of the Striped Hyæna of India *(H. striata)*, exhibited close by, one is struck by the apparent similarity between the two species in respect of size, features and coloration; the only distinctive mark being the spots in the African species and the stripes in the Indian one. The specimen of the Spotted Hyæna in the Calcutta Zoological Garden appears not to be shy in disposition, as, at the time when I saw it, it was quietly lying near the entrance to its den, and did not retire inside its sleeping-apartment at the sight of us. It was obtained in 1894-95, by exchange from Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, of Hamburgh.

Then, coming to the Gubboy House, we find two novelties exhibited in the southern cages of this building. These are two African monkeys belonging to the genus *Cercopithecus*—one being the Green Monkey *(Cercopithecus callitrichus)*, and the other Sykes's Monkey *(C. albogularis)*. The former is a denizen of the forests of West Africa, and the latter has its habitat in the tangled jungles of East Africa. The *Cerco-*

pitheci are long-tailed African monkeys, provided with cheek-pouches in which food can be temporarily stowed away, and possessed of large posterior callosities and extremely long tails. The coats of many members of this genus are characterised by brilliant coloration, as in the Diana Monkey (*C. diana*) and Mona monkey (*C. mona*), of which two specimens are exhibited in the eastern wall-cage of this house—one of these latter being an adept in the trick of turning somersaults. There are at least twenty species of *Cercopitheci*, all of which are very lively and active in their habits. A pair of Green Monkeys (*C. callitrichus*) were purchased as far back as 1890-91, of which one is living now in one of the southern wall-cages of this house. The appellation "Green Monkey," applied to this monkey, is a misnomer, as there is very little of green colour to be found on the coat of the specimen exhibited here. The animal here shown is tinged with a light yellowish hue, and in strong lights the coloration becomes more distinct. The specimen of Sykes's monkey on exhibition here was presented to the Gardens by Dr. Drake-Brockmann of Mirzapore, N.-W. P., and is a singularly fine animal. It is to be found in one of the moveable cages in the middle of the southern side of this house. The peculiar characteristics of this species of *Cercopithecus*, as can be judged from the example here exhibited, are that its coloration is uniform iron grey on the upper side; raised ridges commencing from the cheek, and a ruff formed by its long silky fur all round the forehead. Both the green and the Sykes's monkeys on show here very much appreciated the bits of plantain which we gave them.

Then, coming to the Dumraon House, we find, exhibited in the north-western cage of this building, a fine specimen of the Grey Gibbon of Borneo (*Hylobates mulleri*). The Gibbons (*Hylobates*) are far less anthropoid in every way than the Orangs and the Chimpanzees, and are characterised by a remarkable variability in the coloration of the skin. The Gibbons have their habitat in Sumatra and Borneo, and as far northwards as Burmah and Assam. The specimen here on show is of a uniform grey colour, and appears to be taciturn in its habits, for it does not utter that peculiar cry, "hoocko," "hoocko," which characterises its congener, the Hoolock (*H. hoolock*). It readily devoured bits of plantain which we gave it—gulping peel and pulp at once. The Zoological Society of London had also obtained a specimen of this rare anthropoid ape as lately as April, 1893.

In a south wall-cage, in the middle of the Dumraon House, are exhibited a pair of that peculiar monkey—the Black Ape (*Cynopithecus niger*), peculiar to the fauna of the island of Celebes in the Indian Archipelago. They are small-sized

monkeys of a uniform black colour, and are very lively and active in their habits. Nothing could be more comical than the suppliant attitude of one of these animals when asking for more bits of plantain.

Then, coming to the Ezra House, we find two magnificent specimens of Burchell's Zebra (*Equus burchelli*, var, *Chapmanii*) from Africa. These animals have been recently imported—having been obtained by exchange, in 1893-94, from Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, of Hamburgh. There are three well-known species of striped wild asses, vulgarly called Zebras, namely, the Black and White, or true Zebra, which is becoming nearly extinct and inhabits only mountainous parts; the Black and Yellow, or Burchell's Zebra, which is characterised by the different arrangements of the stripes on the body and which inhabits the plains, and the Quagga. The three specimens exhibited in this garden belong to the second species.

Coming to the Birds of Prey House, which is a little way off, to the south of the Dumraon House, we find, in the south-western cage of the building, a full-grown example of the Imperial Eagle (*Aquila imperialis*) of Europe. It was obtained by exchange from Carl Hagenbeck, of Hamburgh, in 1893-94. It is a magnificent bird and is characterised by its tarsi being of a beautiful golden yellow color. Its power of flight and of muscle can be best judged from its enormous size; and the length of its claws and beak give one an idea how formidable and rapacious a bird it is. This bird is to be found all over Europe and Asia. The specimen exhibited in the Alipore Gardens utters, when excited, a peculiar call, something like *caw caw*, whenever a human being approaches its cage. Its nearest congeners are the Golden Eagle (*A chrysætus*) of Europe and North America, and the Tawny Eagle (*A nævioides*) of Africa.

Coming to the Surnomoyi House, we find, in the north-eastern compartment of the building, a number of specimens of the Seesee Partridge (*Ammoperdix bonhami*) from Quetta in Beluchistan. These are brown coloured birds, about the size of other partridges, and I could not discover any other peculiarity about them. This species is distributed all over Western Asia, and its nearest congener is the Hey's Partridge (*Ammoperdix heyi*), which has its habitat in Arabia. Both of these species have been exhibited in the London Zoological Gardens, and the specimens of the Seesee, or Bonham's Partridge, which were exhibited in 1867, in the Regent's Park Menagerie, are described as having been from the Punjab.

In a moveable cage to the south-east of the Surnomoyi House is exhibited a specimen of the Crimson-Winged Parrot of Australia (*Ptistes erythropterus*). The conspicuous feature of this bird, from which it derives its specific name, *erythropterus*,

or *red-winged*, is the possession of a large crimson-coloured patch in the centre of each wing. This bird appears not to have been exhibited in the English Zoological Gardens.

To the east of one of the central compartments of the Surnomoyi House is to be found hanging a small cage which contains a specimen of that beautiful bird—the Common Hangnest (*Icterus vulgaris*) of South America. This bird was obtained by exchange in 1893-94 It very much resembles an Indian oriole, and is characterised by being of a beautiful golden yellow colour, and having black patches on the head, wings and breast. This bird derives its common appellation from the fact of its usually building its hanging nests on the forked branches of trees in the South American forests and glades. There are seven species known to naturalists, of which the Baltimore oriole (*Icterus baltimore*) is the best known.

In a moveable cage situated in the south-western corner of the Surnomoyi House are to be seen several examples of the Orange-bellied Chloropsis (*Chloropsis hardwicki.*) This bird may be described as follows :—" The upper plumage green, washed with fulvous yellow on the head ; lores, the feathers under the eye, the ear-coverts, chin, throat, and upper breast black ; a broad moustachial streak, reaching to the end of the ear coverts, cobalt ; remainder of the under plumage orange-brown washed with green on the flanks ; tail dull purple, the inner webs blacker ; lesser wing-coverts verdigris-blue ; remaining coverts and the primaries black, edged with purple ; secondaries brown on the inner, and green on the outer webs ; tertiaries and inner greater coverts entirely green ; bill black ; irides brown or dark brown ; feet plumbeous ; claws dusky or black." The coloration of the males differs from that of the females ; and the fledgelings assume at first a uniform green colour. Traces of orange colour soon appear on the abdominal region ; and the moustachial streak and the wing-patches are barely indicated. This bird frequents the Himalayas, from Mussoorie to Assam, often ascending to an altitude of 5,000 or 6,000 feet ; the Khasia Hills and Manipur, extending eastwards to Tenasserim and the Karen country.

We must now retrace our steps to the Reptile House. Turning to the left and proceeding a little to the south, we find in one of the smaller cages on the eastern platform of the house examples of the Burrowing Frog (*Cacopus globulosus*) from Midnapore. The members of the genus, *Cacopus*, are all burrowing in their habits and feed chiefly on ants. There are only two species of this genus known, the other being the *Cacopus systoma*. The specimens of *C. globulosus* exhibited in the Reptile House cannot be generally seen, as they burrow into the earth provided in their cages and lie embedded therein. I tried

to make them emerge from their clayey haunts, but did not succeed. This frog is usually three inches in length, and is of a uniform brown colour, or sometimes spotted with darker. It belongs to the family *Engystomatidae*, of which the members resemble the true Frogs in the structure of the shoulder-girdle, but, like the Toads, have toothless jaws. Some are aquatic in their habits, while the rest, like the toad-like *Cacopus*, are burrowers.

In the wall-cage next to the south-eastern corner cage of this house is exhibited an example of the Purple-vented Snake *(Xenochrophis cerasogaster)*. This specimen is labelled as being from Bengal, although its habitat is said to be Assam and the Khasia Hills, extending as far eastwards as the Malay Peninsula. The upper surface of this snake is of a brown colour, sometimes ocellated with darker spots, and marked with a more or less distinct paler dorso-lateral band; the nether parts being of a cherry-red to purplish black colour, with a yellow band on each side, extending all the way from the lips to the tip of the tail. There is only one species of this genus known to naturalists. This snake has a very repulsive aspect, and is said to possess very fierce and pugnacious habits. It is usually 2 feet 5·5 inches in length.

In the western wall-cage, next to the south-western corner cage of this house, is to be seen an example of the Side-striped Snake *(Coluber radiatus)* of India. The upper surface of this snake is of a yellowish brown colour, with one or two black bands on each side of the anterior half of the back, the lower band usually broken up; a black line across the occiput; three black lines radiate from the eye; and the nether parts are of a uniform yellow colour. The habitat of this snake is said to be the Eastern Himalayas, Assam, Burma, Cochin China, the Malayan Peninsula, Java and Sumatra. It is said to be of arboreal habits, and very fierce in disposition, and feeds chiefly on small mammals and birds. The specimen exhibited in this house is fond of lying coiled under the sods of grass provided in its cage. This snake usually attains to a length of five feet. Both this snake and the preceding one belong to the family *Colubridae*, which includes a very large number of deadly venomous snakes, such as the cobras, kraits and sea-snakes, as also a considerable number of innocuous species, which, though probably harmless to man, are perhaps capable of inflicting a bite hurtful to small birds and mammals.

In the northern wall-cage, next to the north-western corner cage of this house, is exhibited a single specimen of the Horrid Rattlesnake *(Crotalus horridus)* from America. This specimen was obtained by exchange in 1893-94, and is the first example

of the species ever exhibited in India. The specimen on show here is about a cubit-and-a-half in length ; of a yellowish brown colour, mottled with darker spots, and having some rattles at the tip of its tail. This species is said to be very fierce in its habits. Specimens of the common Rattlesnake (*C. durissus*) have been exhibited in this garden before.

In a wall-cage close by is exhibited a specimen of the Reticulated Python (*Python reticulatus*) from the Malayan Peninsula. This species is smaller in thickness and dimensions than the *Python molurus*, and sometimes reaches a length of 30 feet. The upper surface is coloured light yellowish, or brown, blotched with large circular or rhomboidal patches of a blackish colour ; a median black line runs along the head ; the under parts being of a yellowish colour, with small brown coloured spots on the sides. This snake lives on trees near the water in forests of Burma, the Nicobars, the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago. The example here shown has preserved its natural arboreal habits, even in captivity, as we found it lying coiled round the dead tree-trunk provided in its cage.

Then, proceeding onwards and coming to the northern half of the eastern platform of this house, we find, in a small moveable glass cage, two specimens of the Spotted Lizard (*Mabuia macularia*). These are very small lizards, about 6 inches in length, having their upper parts of a brown or olive-brown colour, and the sides darker, usually ocellated with white black-edged spots. The back of this diminutive lacertilian, is uniform or black-spotted, or with one or two black longitudinal lines, or sometimes with two light lateral lines on each side, well defined only on the neck. The under parts are coloured yellowish. This species is to be found all over India, and is essentially a ground-loving form, often found under rocks, or burrowing under old buildings, and feeds on insects. In captivity, however, they seem to thrive well on the common green grasshoppers, for I found in their cage several of these insects given for food to these lizards. This species is said to be oviparous. The specimens shown here were acquired by purchase.

Then, leaving the Reptile House and proceeding eastwards, and then turning to the south, we come to the Sonebursa House, in the compound of which are to be found one or two specimens of the Grooved Tortoise—(*Testudo sulcata*) from Tropical Africa, which have recently been acquired by presentation.

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds reptiles and batrachians described in this paper :—

I. CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER PRIMATES. FAMILY SIMIIDAE.

GENUS HYLOBATES.

1. Hylobates mullerii, (*Martin*).
 Hab. Borneo.

FAMILY CERCOPITHECIDAE.

GENUS CYNOPITHECUS.

1. Cynopithecus niger (*Desm*).
 Hab. Celebes.

GENUS CERCOPITHECUS.

1. Cercopithecus callitrichus (*Is Geoffr*).
 Hab. West Africa.
2. Cercopithecus albogularis (*Sykes*).
 Hab. East Africa.

ORDER CARNIVORA. FAMILY HYAENIDAE.

GENUS HYAENA.

1. Hyaena crocuta (*Erxl*).
 Hab. South Africa.

ORDER UNGULATA. FAMILY EQUIDAE.

GENUS EQUUS.

1 Equus burcheili (*Gray*). var. Chapmani.
 Hab. South Africa.

FAMILY CERVIDAE.

GENUS CERVUS.

1. Cervus eldi (*M'Clelland*).
 Hab. British Burmah.

GENUS CARIACUS.

1. Cariacus punctulatus.
 Hab. Guatemala.

II CLASS AVES.

ORDER PASSERES. FAMILY ICTERIDAE.

GENUS ICTERUS.

1. Icterus vulgaris (*Daud*).
 Hab. South America.

FAMILY CRATEROPODIDAE. SUB FAMILY LIOTRICHINAE.

GENUS CHLOROPSIS.

1. Chloropsis hardwickii (*Jard. and Selby*).
 Hab. The Himalayas.

ORDER PSITTACI. FAMILY PSITTACIDAE.
SUB-FAMILY PLATYCERCINAE.

GENUS PTISTES.

1. Ptistes erythropterus.
 Hab. Australia.

ORDER ACCIPITRES. FAMILY FALCONIDAE.
SUB-FAMILY BUTEONINAE.

GENUS AQUILA.

1. Aquila imperialis (*Bechst*).
Hab. Europe.

ORDER GALLINAE.
FAMILY PHASIANIDAE,
SUB-FAMILY CACCABININAE.

GENUS AMMOPERDIX.

1. Ammoperdix bonhami (*Fraser*).
Hab. Beluchistan (Quetta).

III. CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER TESTUDINATA. FAMILY TESTUDINIDAE.

GENUS TESTUDO.

1. Testudo sulcata (*Miller*).
Hab. Tropical Africa.

ORDER SQUAMATA. SUB-ORDER LACERTILIA.
FAMILY SCINCIDAE.

GENUS MABUIA.

1. Mabuia macularia (*Bouleng*).
Hab. Peninsular India.

SUB-ORDER OPHIDIA. FAMILY COLUBRIDAE.
SUB-FAMILY COLUBRINAE.

GENUS XENOCHROPHIS.

1. Xenochrophis cerasogaster (*Günth*).
Hab. Bengal.

GENUS COLUBER.

1. Coluber radiatus (*Schleg.*).
Hab. Eastern Himalayas, Assam.

FAMILY BOIDAE. SUB-FAMILY PYTHONINAE.

1. Python reticulatus (*Schneid*).
Hab. Malayan Peninsula.

FAMILY CROTALIDAE.

GENUS CROTALUS.

1. Crotalus horridus (*Linn*).
Hab. America.

IV. CLASS BATRACHIA.

ORDER ECAUDATA. FAMILY ENGYSTOMATIDAE.

GENUS CACOPUS.

1. Cacopus globulosus (*Günth*).
Hab. Bengal (Midnapore).

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. V.—THE CIVIL LAW OF ITALY.

SOURCES AND ATTRIBUTES OF LAWS.

THE written law consists of the statutes, regulations, royal and ministerial decrees, and instructions and circulars, and the unwritten law of custom and usage. Statutes of the Legislature (that is, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies) are finally sanctioned and promulgated by the king. The sanction completes the law, promulgation puts it in force, and publication renders it obligatory.

Publication consists in the insertion of the law in the *Official Collection of Laws and Decrees*, and in an intimation of such insertion in the *Official Gazette* of the State. Although it is obligatory on Communes to subscribe to the *Official Collection* (*Raccolta*), yet in the case of the Civil and Commercial Codes, and the recent Penal Code, their importance was recognized to be such, that a copy was sent to every Commune in the kingdom, to be open to public inspection for a certain time in the Municipal Hall.

IGNORANCE OF THE LAW.

It is the duty of citizens to know the law, and from the day it comes into force, ignorance of it cannot be pleaded. But in this connection it is necessary to distinguish between laws which solely relate to private interests and those which concern public order and morality. In the case of the latter, ignorance of the law is never admitted, but as regards the former it is admitted in some rare* cases as a mitigation, particularly with a view to avoid a loss. For instance, an act contrary to law, but done in good faith, can sometimes produce the effects of a legal act ; * one can get back what is paid by mistake ; † a consent given through mistake or ignorance of a right can invalidate the act, when the mistake has been its sole or principal cause,‡ except when it is specially provided to the contrary.§

In order to give the public time to get to know its provisions, a new law, as a rule, takes effect only from the fifteenth day after its publication, unless otherwise provided. Sometimes the Legislature fixes a longer or shorter term, according to the nature and extent of the law. Thus the law abolishing imprisonment for debt came into force on the day following its

* The Italian Civil Code, Art. 116.
† Id. Art. 1146.
‡ Id. Art. 1109.
§ Id. Arts. 1360 and 1772.

publication, whereas a longer time is allowed in the case of the Codes. Sometimes the law delegates to the Government the power of fixing the date on which a law shall come into force. This is done when the technical nature of the law or the difficulty of applying it points to the advisability of leaving the matter in the hands of the Executive Government.

DURATION OF LAWS.

A law remains in force until it is repealed, in whole (*abrogazione*) or in part (*derogazione*), by another law. The cessation or alteration of the circumstances which gave rise to the law does not make it cease to have effect. Hence it would be futile for the tax-payer to allege the actual state of peace in order to escape payment of the additional tenth levied for war. Repeal may be express or implied If the new law regulates the whole subject matter dealt with in the old law, the whole of the old law is presumed to be repealed.*

DIFFERENT KINDS OF REGULATIONS.

Regulations are made by the executive authority, and are of two kinds. Some have the force of law, and are therefore called *legislative decrees* ; others are subordinate to the law, and are binding only so far as they are in conformity with the law. The latter are called *regulating decrees* (*decreti regolamentari*).

Legislative decrees are in their turn divided into two classes :—

(*a*) Those made by Government in cases of urgency in the interval between Parliamentary sessions, and which must be presented to Parliament to be approved in the same way as laws ;†

(*b*) Those made in virtue of the special powers conferred by Parliament on the executive authority. Instances of these are very numerous. The law itself confers on some administrative authority the power of making rules to give effect to the law. Such are the regulations regarding the security of theatres made by Quæstors or Prefects, the communal regulations of health, police, &c. The Civil Code is supplemented in many matters by such regulations or rules.‡

The regulating decrees are those which the Government makes for the *application* of the law, and are ordinarily the natural and necessary development of the law, to which they are to give effect. The law which emanates from the legisla-

* Ruling of the Court of Cassation of Turin, 19th January, 1881.

† There is an important decision of the Court of Cassation in Rome that the judicial authority cannot deny the force of law to an ordinance of urgency, even though for a very long time it may not have been presented to Parliament for its conversion into law. Ruling of 17th November 1888.

‡ See Arts. 447, 534, 535, 537, 544, 559, 572—575, 579, 580, 582, 588, 591 and 601.

tive power merely formulates general principles, while the Government frames rules for their practical application, being obliged to think out particular cases and give necessary instructions to subordinate authorities.*

Such delegation of legislative power is the necessary outcome and consequence of the multifarious needs, minute requirements, and ever-increasing complexity of modern life and civilization. The Legislature lays down principles, not having the necessary time or experience for working out details.

OBLIGATORY FORCE OF SUCH REGULATIONS OR RULES.

Officers of the administration, who have to put the law in force, are absolutely bound by these regulations, which, however, are only obligatory on the general public in so far as they are in conformity with the law which gives the power to frame them.

ROYAL DECREES.

Royal decrees must not be confounded with either legislative decrees or regulating decrees. Royal decrees provide for special cases and particular persons. For instance, they sanction general regulations, recognize judicial persons, concede citizenship, sanction the acquisition of land in the public interests, appoint certain classes of officers, &c. *Ministerial decrees* deal with the appointment, promotion, and transfer of public officials, the confirmation of contracts in favour of the State, the appointment of certain classes of officials, and so on.

The administration is directed by means of *ministerial instructions* and *circulars*, the former being intended to clear up numerous doubtful points in the application of the law, and the latter providing rules for any specific case. They are binding on public officials, but as regards private persons, they are merely directory and not imperative.†

CUSTOM.

Custom is an unwritten rule, especially produced by local needs, constantly and generally observed by the tacit consent of citizens. Customs always exercise a great influence on the positive law of all countries. In Roman law they were put on an equality with the law itself, which they could even modify.

* The law of the 24th August, 1877, relating to the tax on moveable property, consists of 73 articles, while the corresponding regulation contains 123. The Postal Law of the 12th June 1889 has 27 articles only, while the regulation under it has 256. Similar instances are common in Indian legislation, an Act often consisting of a few sections, mentioning the matters in which power is delegated to the Executive Government, the Board of Revenue, etc., to frame rules, which have the force of law.

† Decision of the Court of Appeal of Modena, 11th August, 1882, *Monitore dei Tribunali*, 1882, p. 812.

In the Middle Ages they lay the foundations of Commercial law, and the collection of customs in the two celebrated French ordinances of 1673 and 1681 still form the principal basis of modern Codes of Commerce.

As regards the influence of custom on the law of Italy, it is necessary to draw a rigid line between penal law and civil and commercial law. Customs are excluded from penal law,* whether as qualifying the offence or in the determination of punishment. In civil law, custom is applied in certain matters not regulated by the Code, but, as regards subjects dealt with in the Code, it is applied only in those few cases in which the law expressly refers to or saves it.† Where the civil law does not refer to it, custom cannot be taken into consideration.

In commercial matters, on the other hand, customs have still a very great importance, being in the regular way a source of the law.

Customs may be local or confined to a particular place, city, or locality, or they may be general, that is, in force throughout a whole country. They may also be special, or peculiar to certain branches of commerce. Saving certain exceptions, local and special customs prevail over general customs.‡

The Civil Law is divided into the following branches :—

I.—The Law of Persons.
II.—Things and the rights which relate to them.
III.—The Law of Obligations.
IV.—The Law of the Family.

* There is a certain day in the year in parts of Bengal, on which it is customary and supposed to be no offence to steal. In some districts it is customary, or at any rate the right is claimed, to fish once a year in the private waters of the zemindar. The arguments *ab inconvenienti* show it to be impracticable and dangerous for criminal courts to recognize such customs. It is customary in the N.-W. Provinces to sing extremely disgusting and indecent songs at the time of the *Holi* festival ; but persons doing so are punished, if complained against, though a good deal of rough joking and horse-play are allowed at that season, which would not be allowed at any other time. In 1776 a farmer charged gleaners before a Justice with felony, and the Justice imprisoned them Lord Mansfield, C. J. ruled that the Justice had acted rightly. In 1788, the point was raised in the form of demurrer to a plea in action of trespass, the defence being, that the defendant was a poor person and inhabitant of the parish, and that he entered the plaintiff's field to glean. A majority of three judges to one repudiated the law of Moses, treating the Mosaic precept as addressed only to the conscience, and decided that such a right as that of gleaning was too uncertain to be acted on; was inconsistent with the nature of property, which implies an exclusive enjoyment, and that the arguments *ab inconvenienti* showed it to be impracticable to enforce such a custom. The Calcutta High Court seems to have lost sight of the principle of the exclusion of customs from penal law.

† These cases are principally servitudes, contracts in kind, contracts of sale, emphytensis, hiring and metayer tenancies.

‡ Art. 1, Cod. Comm.

THE CIVIL CODE.

The Roman law was the general law of almost the whole of Europe, and modern Civil Codes were based on it. The best were the Austrian and French Codes. The latter was, at the beginning of the second century, extended with the French dominion to Italy and served as a model for the Codes of the two Sicilies (1819), of Parma (1820), of the Code of Albert (1837), of the Code for the Extended States (1851), and lastly for the Italian Civil Code of the 26th June 1865, which came into force on the 1st January 1866 in all the provinces of Italy except Rome, Venice, and part of Mantua, to which it was subsequently extended in 1871. Before the promulgation of the new Code, there had been three different systems of law in Italy (1) that of the Code of Napoleon, reproduced more or less in its entirety in the Codes of Albert, the Extended States, Naples and Parma; (2) that of the Austrian Code which flourished in the Provinces of Lombardy and Venice; and (3) that of the Roman Common Law which obtained in Tuscany and the Pontifical Kingdom.

The law for the application *(attuazione)* of the Civil Code is No. 2606 of the 30th November 1865.

I.—THE LAW OF PERSONS.

A person is a being capable of exercising a right. The person may be a single individual, or an artificial person. The latter is known as a juridical person or corporate body.

Causes which modify or restrict the exercise of a right.—Such causes are citizenship, domicile, absence, relationship, marriage, age, physical and especially intellectual infirmities, bankruptcy, certain criminal punishments, and death.

In past times religion, profession, moral conduct and sex had a certain influence on the exercise of private rights, whereas now they have little or none. The exercise of civil rights depends on the liberty of men. Guardianship * is an exception, as it needs honesty and the public confidence. As to sex, the law of the 9th December 1877 removed the disability of women to give testimony in public and private acts. Some traces,† however, remain of the ancient diversity of treatment, and the early development of a woman puts her in some cases in a better position than the man.

Sex and morality still exercise a considerable influence on political rights, which are generally denied to women,‡ those who have been insolvents, and convicted persons.§

* Cod. Civ. Art. 269. † Cod. Civ. 269.

‡ Cod. Civ. 55, 63. The Italian and Belgian law does not permit the woman to exercise the profession of advocate. The law regarding public charitable institutions declares her capable of being a member of the charitable committees, only making such capacity subject to certain conditions if she be married. Law of 17th July 1890, Art. 12.

§ Electorate Law of 22nd January 1882, Art. 86; Communal and Provincial Law of 10th February 1889, Art. 30.

CITIZENSHIP.

Contrary to the principle of the Roman law, which recognized only in the citizen the full capacity for the exercise of rights, the modern Italian law permits foreigners to enjoy civil, but not political rights. As regards the exercise of private rights, foreigners are on the same footing as citizens.*

Citizenship is acquired by birth, declaration, naturalization, and, as regards a woman, by marriage also. Where both parents are unknown, the son born in the kingdom is a citizen. The right of acquiring citizenship by declaration is allowed to the sons, born in a foreign country, of those who have lost their Italian citizenship, and to the sons, born within the realm of foreigners who have not had any fixed domicile for a period of ten years. As to naturalization foreigners may become naturalized by law or by Royal decree ;† but the latter mode of naturalization does not confer the right to vote at political elections. An alien woman becomes an Italian by marrying an Italian, and retains her citizenship even after becoming a widow.

Citizenship is lost by renunciation, which may be express or implied. It is implied when a different nationality is acquired, or when, without the permission of the Italian Government, civil or military service is accepted under a foreign government.‡ Citizenship may also be lost by cession of territory to a foreign power, and (for a woman) by marrying a foreigner.

DOMICILE.

Domicile is civil or political. A person's civil domicile is in the place where he has his principal business and interests, though he resides elsewhere. For certain purposes a domicile may be chosen by a written document and is then called elective.§ The political domicile is presumed to be in the same place as the civil domicile; and, once established, it can be changed only by a written declaration subscribed before the Sindac of the Commune to which the declarant has transferred his civil domicile and residence.

The Court may declare a man's "absence" at the instance of his presumptive heirs, when he has not been heard of for three years continuously, and he has left no agent; when he has an agent, the period of continuous absence must be six years. Possession of the property may be given to the heirs on their furnishing security. But this is only partial and temporary possession. Absolute enjoyment of the property is allowed only after 30 years of such possession, or on the expiry of 100 years from the death of the absent person, provided always that he has not been heard of for at least three

* Cod. Civ. 3. † Cod. Civ. 10. ‡ Cod. Civ. 11. § Cod. Civ. 19.

years.* If the absent person returns after temporary possession has been given, he has a right to the restoration of his property, and even to a portion of the usufruct, if those in possession are not his ascendants or descendants in a direct line, or his wife. If he returns after definitive possession has been given, he can get back his property only in the state in which it is at the time.

Relationship by Blood or Marriage.

The Code defines the different kinds of relationship, and the results produced by them, such as the right of succession, the *patria potestas*, impediments to marriage, right to maintenance, and so on.

Age.

All citizens are either minors, emancipated, or majors. A minor is a person under 21, as in France, Belgium, England, the United States of America, Greece and Russia.† The minor is emancipated, if freed from the authority of father or guardian before his 21st year. The major enjoys full civil capacity, and political rights. Capacity in other respects, too, depends on age. Children under nine cannot commit an offence; between nine and fourteen, they are punishable only if they have acted with sufficient discernment; from fourteen to twenty-one, age is regarded as a mitigating circumstance.‡ A male cannot contract marriage before 18, or a female before 15, but in exceptional cases the age is lowered to 14 and 12 respectively.§

Some other results of age worthy of mention are that, at 10 years of age, the minor has a right to a voice in the family council regarding his own education; at 14 he may give evidence in civil cases; ‖ at 16 he has a right to be heard in the family council in all matters, and to carry arms; ¶ at 18 he may be adopted and emancipated, and may make a will; at 25 he is released from the obligation of getting his parents' consent to his marriage, and may be a juror, arbitrator, prætor or judge;** at 30 he may be a Deputy, and at 40 a Senator; at 50 he may adopt; and at 65 he becomes exempt from guardianship or serving on a jury.††

* Cod. Civ. 26, 28, 36.

† In Turkey minority ceases with puberty, in Switzerland at 20, in Holland at 23, in Austria and Denmark at 24, in Norway, Spain and Portugal at 25.

‡ Cod. Pen., 54, 55.

§ Cod. Civ. 55, 68.

‖ Cod. Civ. 278; Cod. Proc. Civ. 236.

¶ Cod. Civ. 251, Art. 17 of Law of Public Security.

** Cod. Civ. 63.

†† Cod. Civ. 202, 273.

INFIRMITIES.

Physical maladies can sometimes be a ground for some exception to the ordinary rule, but they are generally not considered in the law. On the other hand, intellectual infirmities have a considerable influence.* In the penal law, too, deaf-mutism and infirmity of mind are causes which exclude or diminish criminal liability.†

CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS.

Certain convictions carry with them a perpetual or temporary prohibition to hold any public office, and such prohibition entails the deprivation of political rights, academic degrees, ecclesiastical benefices, &c‡ Other convictions entail a state of legal disability, and deprive one of the right to make a will.

BANKRUPTCY.

Bankruptcy deprives the bankrupt of the administration of his property; and, as long as the bankruptcy lasts, he cannot hold any judicial office or exercise political rights.

Orders of interdiction or disability, or the revocation of either, must be communicated for publication to all Courts in the kingdom.§

LIFE AND DEATH.

Life is the beginning, and death the end, of the rights of an individual. The existence of a person can be proved in any way, but death as a rule can be proved only by the registers of civil status which the Sindac of every Commune has to keep. Births must be registered within five days, and, as a rule, the newly-born child must be produced. Information of marriages must be given immediately after their celebration, and of death before the body is buried.‖

JURIDICAL PERSONS.

Juridical persons are the result of the association of a number of individuals for some specific purpose, or of an agregation of property bequeathed for some fixed object of public utility. The former are called corporations, the latter endowments. Instances of corporations are Provinces, Communes, and agricultural societies, while instances of endowments are hospitals, orphanages, legacies for schools, &c.

Juridical persons are spoken of in Italian law as moral

* Cod. Civ. 324, 326, 339, 340.
† Cod. Pen. 45, 46, 47, 57, 58.
‡ Cod. Pen. 20, 31.
§ Cod. Proc. Civ. 846.
‖ Cod. Civ. 371, 94, 385, 390, 392. In India a law requiring information to be given before a body is burnt, is much called for. The burning of the body destroys the only or the best evidence available in cases of suspected murder.

bodies.* They generally require authority for matters of importance, such as alienation or acquisition of property, or suing in the Courts.† Such authority is generally given by the Provincial Administrative Committee, but for the acquisition of immoveable property, it must be given by Government, public charities, however, constituting an exception. The authority which has conferred personality on a corporate body, may take it away, when it fails in its object, or no longer answers to the conception of a public purpose. Such deprivation is pronounced sometimes by the law, as in the case of religious corporations, sometimes by the Courts, sometimes by the executive power. Trading companies do not present that character of permanence and perpetuity peculiar to moral bodies; still they are written of as corporate bodies, moral bodies, and juridical persons.

Juridical and Physical Persons.

Juridical resemble physical persons as regards material interests. They can incur obligations, can sue and be sued, and have a domicile. But they cannot, like physical persons, freely dispose of their property, as their rights have reference rather to enjoyment than to disposal. Juridical persons have no existence in the eyes of the penal law, and even as regards the civil law, they are not capable of those rights which suppose an individual life, as the rights of the family, the capacity to make a will, &c. Hence, on their suppression, their property devolves on their State, like any other intestate property.‡ Finally, with the exception of the right of petition accorded to certain Corporations, they are considered incapable of political rights—contrary to the practice in some countries, such as England, Russia, and Spain.

Civil and Political Rights.

Civil rights are of a purely private character, and concern the family and property, as the right to contract marriage, to make a will, to succeed, to trade; whereas political rights consist of the capacity to participate in the government of public affairs, as the right to elect or be elected. Civil rights belong to all men without regard to their nationality; while political rights, which give a share of the sovereignty, which is exclusive and independent for each nation, appertain only to those who belong to such nation by the ties of citizenship.

It should be noted that political constitutions in general, and the Italian constitution in a marked degree, are far more careful in granting political than civil rights, requiring a greater guarantee of capacity in the former case. This is only natural,

* Cod. Civ. 2,433. † Id. 434, 932. ‡ Cod. Civ. 758.

as the abuse of a civil right damages an individual only, while the misuse of political rights injures society as a whole. As, however, all citizens cannot be subjected to an examination to ascertain whether they have the necessary capacity, recourse is had to presumptions arising from three facts: the completion of a certain course of study, the exercise of a liberal profession or public function, or a certain amount of property.

II.—THINGS AND THE RIGHTS WHICH RELATE TO THEM.

The capacity of things for becoming the subject of rights springs from the possibility of their being appropriated, or forming the subject of exclusive possession. Such things are called property, as distinguished from things which are common to all, as air, light, the sea.* Things are immoveable or moveable.

Distinctions Between Moveables and Immoveables.

(1) Immoveable property is subject to the law of the place where it is situate, while moveable property is generally subject to the law of the nation to which its owner belongs.

(2) The sale of immoveables is always an act of extraordinary authority, and permitted only to those who have the full control over their property, while this is not always required for the sale of moveables.†

(3) Agreements relating to immoveable property must generally be in writing, under pain of nullity, while, as regards moveables, writing is not required unless the value exceeds 500 lira, and even so the rule is not imposed under pain of nullity.‡

(4) The possession of moveables produces in favour of the *bonâ fide* possessor the same effect as title, that is, it raises in his favour the presumption of property, but this is not so in the case of immoveable property §

(5) Immoveables are the subject of hypothec and mortgage, moveables of pledge;‖ immoveables are the subject of prædial as well as personal servitudes, while moveables are the subject of the latter only; immoveables are acquired by prescription, moveables by the sole act of possession. Property is distinguished into the property of the State, Provinces, Communes, public institutions or moral bodies, and the property of private persons.¶ State property intended for public use is called the Public Domain, as the national

* Cod. Civ. 406. † Cod. Civ. 134, 296 ‡ Cod. Civ. 1314, 1341.
§ Id. 707. ‖ Id. 1878, 1967. ¶ Id. 425.

roads, seacoasts, harbours, rivers, telegraph lines, museums and national galleries. What is possessed by the State as a private person is called the State Patrimony.* The Public Domain is inalienable and not subject to prescription, so long as it is destined to the public use, and hence it is free from attachment by creditors.† The State Patrimony, on the other hand, is, like private property, subject to prescription and attachment in execution of decree.‡

PROPERTY AND ITS RESTRICTIONS AND MODIFICATIONS.

PROPERTY IN GENERAL AND THE MODES OF ACQUIRING IT.

The right of property consists in the dominion which a person exercises over a thing, in its entire subjection to our will, so that it can be possessed or disposed of in the most absolute manner, whether to serve our needs and pleasures, or, if one likes, one's caprices, provided we make no use of it, which is forbidden by the laws and regulations.§ The economic and juridical foundation of property is work, whether of the hands or of the mind. The property of the soil comprises everything which is above and below the soil, except mines, salt-mines and treasure.‖ But the Court of Cassation at Naples has held that it includes everything above or below the soil.¶

MODES OF ACQUIRING PROPERTY.

Modes of acquiring property are either original or derivative. Original modes are occupation, accession, enjoyment of the fruits, and prescription; derivative modes are legal and testamentary succession and purchase.**

OCCUPATION.

It is doubtful whether occupation can be considered as a means of acquiring immoveable property, but it would be rash to say that it can never be so. In public waters not subject to private rights or fishery grants, the law permits in this way the temporary occupation of a post for fishing so as to maintain it exclusively for the distance necessary for its use and

* Cod. Civ. 426–428, 432.
† Cod. Civ. 429, 430, and ruling of Court of Cassation, of Rome, 19th June 1876.
‡ Id. 2114 and ruling of Court of Cassation of Florence, of 30th November 1876.
§ Cod. Civ. 436.
‖ Cod. Civ. 431, 440, 443, 447, 714.
¶ 7th July, 1885 (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1885, p. 834.)
** Cod. Civ. 710.

complete development.* On the other hand, the laws of the United States lay down that the planter or cultivator must, in order to be considered as the owner of the land which he has occupied, enclose it and build a cottage with at least two openings, that is, a door and a window. Similarly, the laws of the Argentine Republic enact that the appropriation of unoccupied land must result from the construction of a *ranche* or hut and the excavation of a well or some other work. The Italian law deals only with the occupation of moveables, that is, sport, fishing, and the finding of things which have been lost or abandoned.†

DISCOVERY.

As regards discovery, one must distinguish between treasure and other objects. Treasure includes every moveable object of value which is hidden or buried, and of which no one can prove himself to be the owner. This belongs to the owner of the land where it is found, and if accidentally found by another person, it is equally divided between the owner of the land, and the finder.‡ On the other hand, the finder of a moveable which is not treasure, must restore it to the former owner, if known, and if not known, he must forthwith deliver it up to the Sindac of the place where it is found, so that intimation may be given to the public. If the owner appears, the finder has a right, if the thing is susceptible of serving a useful purpose § to a reward which, as a rule, is the tenth of the value of the thing found. If two years pass from the second public notice without the owner appearing, the finder acquires the property.‖

The law of accession is broadly the same as the Roman law, embodying, *inter alia*, the principle of *incrementum latens* and *incrementum patens*. Art. 462 enacts that doves, rabbits and fish, which go from one columbary, warren, or fishery to another, belong to the owner of the latter, provided he has not drawn them away by any art or fraud.

LITERARY AND ARTISTIC PROPERTY.

Socialists call literary property an unjust monopoly; others regard it like any other property; others again think it should be subjected to restrictions, and especially that its duration should be limited. The Italian law¶ adopts this last opinion.

*Art. 15 of Regulation of 15th May 1884. This is also the custom along the large rivers of Bengal; but the Zemindars are doing their best to break the custom, and have succeeded in many cases owing to the absence of any attempt to ascertain and fix the common law.

† Cod. Civ. 711. ‡ Id. 714.

§ Court of Cassation of Turin, 20th June 1882 (*Monit dei Trib.* 1882, p. 1047).

‖ Cod. Civ. 715-718. ¶ Laws of 30th October 1859 and 19th September 1882.

THE RIGHTS OF AN AUTHOR HOW DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF PROPERTY.

The owner of a thing can dispose of it as he pleases, and to the exclusion of all others; but the author of a work of intellect cannot prevent the man who buys a copy from destroying it, or from making use of the author's ideas, which by their publication pass into the intellectual dominion of the human race. Moreover, the author of a work once published cannot destroy it. Ideas, once published, can be utilised by many persons in different ways, and at the same time. A work of intellect may be partly the true creation of an individual mind, but it must partly be borrowed from the intellectual patrimony of society at large. Hence, to reconcile the respective rights and interests of the author and of society, it is considered necessary to fix a term, after which the hitherto exclusive right of the individual should re-enter the common patrimony.

DURATION OF THE RIGHTS OF AUTHORSHIP.

The exclusive right of the author to permit the representation or translation of his work lasts for ten years; while the right of reprinting and sale lasts for his whole life, and if he dies before the expiry of forty years from the publication of the work, the right accrues to his heirs up to the termination of such period. After the expiry of the first period, a second period of another forty years commences, during which the work can be reproduced and sold without the special consent of the person having the author's rights, under the condition of paying five per cent. of the gross price, which must be stated on each copy.*

In the case of the publications of corporate bodies, such as Communes, Provinces, scientific and similar institutions, the duration of the author's rights is reduced to twenty years.

PROCEDURE FOR OBTAINING SUCH RIGHTS.

The author, who wants to reserve his rights, must, within three months of the publication, present to the Prefect of the Province a proper declaration along with a copy of the work, and also pay the tax of two lira for the declaration and ten lira for the work.†

If a work is inserted in a journal or periodical publication, it must be stated that all rights are reserved; otherwise other journals may reproduce it, provided they acknowledge the source and the author, and do not publish the work separately.‡

* Art. 9 of Law of 19th September 1882. * Id. 11.
‡ Law of 17th September 1882, 21, 27.

The author of a work adapted for public representation, a ballet or any musical composition, must, if he wishes to reserve his rights, declare to the Prefecture that he intends to prohibit the representation or execution of the work by any person who does not present and give up to the Prefecture written evidence of his (the author's) consent.*

Infringement of the law is punishable with fine up to 5,000 lira, in addition to compensation for loss suffered by the author or his heirs.

SERVITUDES.

PUBLIC SERVITUDES.

Servitudes are a limitation of the right of property, and are imposed both for the benefit of the public as well as for that of private persons.† Instances of the former are the right of towing (*alzaia*) along the bank of a navigable river, the width of the towing path being taken as five meters, when not specially fixed by regulations or valid custom; ‡ the prohibition to erect buildings or plant trees within a certain distance from fortresses and public roads, or to graze cattle in the vicinity of railways. Many limitations too are imposed by Municipal laws.

PRIVATE SERVITUDES.

Private servitudes are personal, that is, imposed for the immediate benefit of another person; or prædial, that is, imposed for the direct use and benefit of another's land.§ A personal servitude is temporary, that is, it lasts for the life of the person, who derives advantage from it, while a prædial servitude is perpetual, like the land which it benefits.‖

Servitudes are real rights over the property of another, and not over our own. Hence the servitude is extinguished by the union in one person of both the dominant and servient tenements.¶ The existence of servitudes must be proved, and their scope cannot be extended by way of inference.**

The personal servitudes expressly contemplated by the Italian Civil Code are usufruct, use, and habitation. Usufruct is where the enjoyment is complete. use where it is only partial,†† that is, when only such part of the fruits may be taken as suffices for ourselves and our family. So the servitude of habitation gives the right to occupy only that part of the house which is sufficient for our habitation with our family according to our civil condition. The usufructuary can grant or lease his

* Law of 17th September 1882, 26. † Cod. Civ. 533.
‡ Id. 534 and Art. 144 of the Law relating to Public Works.
§ Cod. Civ. 531 ‖ Cod. Civ. 662. ¶ Cod Civ. 664. ** Cod. Civ. 647.
†† Id. 477, 479, 521.

right, but he who has the use only cannot do so.* Usufruct is given by the law, as to parents and the surviving husband or wife, whereas habitation and use are always granted by the will of man.†

PRÆDIAL SERVITUDES ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

Prædial servitudes established by law are as follows:—The obligation not to open out prospects or windows over the land of a neighbour, which is not separated by a public road;‡ the liability of lower land to receive the water which flows naturally from higher land; § the obligation of an owner, whose land is traversed by a natural stream, and who makes use of the water, to restore the flow to its ordinary course, so that the proprietor lower down may in his turn benefit by it ‖; that of contiguous owners to admit the joint ownership of a wall erected on the boundary of the estate of either.¶

The *servitude of passage* is temporary or permanent. The former consists in the obligation of every owner to permit a neighbour to have access to his land for the purpose of constructing or repairing a wall or some other necessary work.** The permanent passage is accorded, for the purposes of cultivation or convenient use, to the owner who has no outlet to the public road, or who wishes to widen it for the passage of carts, and who cannot attain his object in any other way without excessive expense or inconvenience††

The servitude of *compulsory aqueduct (acquedotto forzato)* consists in the obligation of every proprietor to allow water to be taken over his lands by those who have a permanent or even temporary right to use it for the necessities of life, or for agricultural or industrial purposes. In such case the water may be taken even across the canals or aqueducts of other persons.‡‡ The origin of this servitude was to benefit mills, but it was gradually extended to all agricultural and industrial purposes. It has received a further extension in the law of Public Works, in favour of those who wish to get rid of excess water, in order to drain or reclaim their lands.§§ The owner of the dominant tenement has to pay for the value of the land required for these water-passages with an addition of one-fifth; but only half this amount need be paid if the water-passage is not required for more than nine years, with the obligation, however, of restoring the land to its former state ‖‖

* Cod. Civ. 492, 528. † Cod. Civ. 228, 231, 753, 473.
‡ Id. 583, 5588. § Id. 536.
‖ Id. 543.—Turin Court of Cassation, 11th May 1880; Naples Court of Cassation, 5th April 1889.
¶ Id. 556. ** Cod. Civ. 592. †† Cod. Civ. 593. ‡‡ Cod. Civ. 598, 600.
§§ Law of Public Works, Art. 127.
‖‖ Cod. Civ. 603, 604, 648; Turin Court of Cassation, 5th June 1878. (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1878, p. 735.)

PRÆDIAL SERVITUDES ESTABLISHED BY THE ACT OF MAN.

Every proprietor has a right to establish any prædial servitude, provided it be imposed on one estate for the benefit of another estate, and is not contrary to public policy.* Such servitudes are continuous or discontinuous, apparent or non-apparent.

Continuous easements are those, of which the enjoyment may be continuous without the necessity for any particular act; for instance, view, water dripping from a roof, the obligation not to build, &c. Discontinuous easements are those which require some act for their exercise, as right of way, right to draw water, to take cattle to pasture, and the like.

Apparent servitudes are those which are manifested by external signs, as the easement of prospect, which is manifested by windows, that of *stillicidium*, which is manifested by the position of the roof, the acqueduct, &c. Non-apparent servitudes are those which have no external signs of their existence, as the obligation not to build, or not to build above a certain height,† right of pasture, &c.

These Servitudes are established by title, prescription‡ or intention. A servitude is established by the intention of a head of a family, whenever it is proved that two estates, now divided, were originally possessed by the same owner, and that he placed and left the things in the state which produces the servitude. For instance, if a man owns two adjacent houses, and opens windows in one overlooking the courtyard of the other, there can be no servitude as long as he remains the owner of both. But if he sells or leaves the houses to different persons without any special declaration, the advantage which one house has by overlooking the other, remains as an easement, and the new owners must respect the state of things thus established.§

Private servitudes are extinguished generally by the total destruction of the thing or its non-user for thirty years: ‖ and also in the case of prædial servitudes) when the ownership of the dominant and servient tenements merge in one and the same person.¶

OTHER LIMITATIONS OF THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY.

Under this head we may class the associations of landlords, the limitations connected with the working of mines, planting of forests, and rice cultivation, and also tithes, though these

* Cod. Civ. 616. † Cod. Civ. 617, 618.
‡ Id. 541, 637. Turin Court of Cassation, 4th May 1885 and 10th December 1885.
§ Cod. Civ. 632 633. Turin Court of Cassation. 22nd April, 1879.
‖ Id. 515, 529, 662, 663, 666. ¶ Cod. Civ. 664.

restrictions on the right of property are not of the same nature as servitudes. Tithes have, to a great extent, disappeared, the short period allowed for their commutation by the law of the 14th July, 1887, having been extended to the 31st December 1871.

LANDLORD COMMITTEES.

The object of these land societies is to protect the estates of those who co-operate from rivers and torrents, or to plant forests, or to improve them generally. They are called voluntary, if constituted with the consent of all interested, and obligatory, if constituted by judicial or administrative authority.

Such associations can be made obligatory by administrative authority, if their object is to protect property from the ravages of rivers and torrents which endanger a number of estates, or to purify the air, to improve estates from a hygienic point of view, to open commercial roads, or to protect mines. These associations are governed by administrative law, especially by the laws of the 20th March 1865, the 20th November 1859 and the 25th June 1882 relating to Public Works. The State, Provinces, and Communes also can contribute towards the expenses.

The associations can be made obligatory by judicial authority, if their object is the improvement of the estates apart from any sanitary advantage, or irrigation, or reboisement when demanded by the majority of those interested; those who do not wish to join the association being allowed to sell their estates to the remaining owners.

JOINT OWNERSHIP.

Joint ownership is sometimes the result of contract, and sometimes of accident on the will of a third person. In the absence of any special agreement, it is regulated by the following rules*:—

1. The shares of the co-owners are presumed to be equal till the contrary is proved;†
2. Each has a full right over his abstract share, but alienation or mortgage is limited to that portion which may be assigned to the alienor at the time of division;‡
3. Each co-owner may use the common property in accordance with its object, and in such a way as not to injure the interests of the other co-owners.§
4. Each co-owner can compel the others to contribute to the expenses necessary for the preservation of

* Cod. Civ. 673. † Cod. Civ, 674. ‡ Cod. Civ. 679, 1034.
§ Id. 675.

the common property. But the minority may free themselves by abandoning their right of co-ownership.*

5. As regards the management of the property, the resolutions of the majority (calculated according to the amount of shares) are binding on the minority.†
6. Dissolution of the co-ownership may be demanded at any time, except in two cases: where co-owners have agreed to remain joint for a period not exceeding ten years;‡ and when the property, if divided, would cease to serve the use for which it was intended, for instance, a well or an oven owned by several families who would have no other means of getting water or bread; or a wall, which serves to support two houses.§

POSSESSION, POSSESSORY ACTIONS, AND INJUNCTIONS.

Possession consists in the detention of a thing coupled with the intention to keep it as one's own, or to dispose of it exclusively.‖ If the intention is only to keep it for another, as a carrier, this is not the possession contemplated by the law, but is a simple detention, which, as a rule, does not produce any juridical effect. As a fact separate from property, possession can be in good faith or in bad faith, legitimate or illegitimate. It is in good faith when the possessor believes himself to have the title.¶ Good faith is always presumed, and this presumption can only be rebutted by positive proof of bad faith.** Possession is legitimate, if it is continuous, uninterrupted, peaceable, public, unequivocal, and with the intention of keeping the thing as one's own: in other cases it is illegitimate.††

Possession raises a presumption of ownership.‡‡ Such presumption is absolute in the case of moveables possessed in

* Cod. Civ. 676, 677. † Cod. Civ. 678 ‡ Cod. Civ. 681.

§ Id. 683. Under Sec. 109 of the Bengal Partition Act VIII, 1876 B. C., tanks, wells, watercourses and embankments are considered as attached to the land for the benefit of which they were originally made. But if, from their extent, situation, or construction, it is necessary that they should remain the joint property of the proprietors of two or more of the separate estates, the paper of partition must specify, as far as possible, the extent of use to be made by the different proprietors, and the proportion of charges for repairs to be borne by them respectively.

Under Sec. 108 places of worship, burning grounds, and burial grounds, which have been held in common, shall continue to be held in common.

‖ Cod. Civ. 685, 690.

¶ Id. 701, possession under a will which is invalid, but which the possessor does not know to be so.

** Id. 702. Turin Court of Cassation, 20th February 1874 (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1874, p. 228).

†† Id. 686. ‡‡ Id. 687.

good faith.* But there is an exception in favour of things which have been lost or stolen. The action for recovery must be brought within two years, and the possessor must be reimbursed the value, when he has bought the thing in a fair or market, at exchange, at a public sale, or from a shopkeeper who publicly exposes such things for sale.† The possessor in good faith is not bound to restore the fruits he has enjoyed.

POSSESSORY ACTIONS.

These actions are intended to maintain the *status quo* and to prevent dispossession by force or violence. They are therefore of two kinds, for maintenance of possession, and for recovery of possession, and can be brought even by a person whose possession is illegitimate or *malâ fide*, and that, too, even against the rightful owner.‡ Such actions must be brought within a year of the act of molestation or disturbance.

Applications for injunctions, when damage is apprehended from the construction of a new work, the demolition of the same, &c., are made in the Court of the Prœtor.§ Possessory actions also are brought in his Court, the necessity for local knowledge and expedition being recognized.

III.—OBLIGATIONS.

Obligations are created by the law, as family relations and duties, legal servitudes attaching to property, or by the act of man, arising out of contract, quasi-contract, delict or quasi-delict. Natural obligations are those the fulfilment of which is left to the honesty and conscience of the obligee, as gambling debts, debts barred by limitation, the duty of parents to give a dower to a daughter‖ Civil obligations are those which can be enforced at law. Obligations are also divided into divisible and indivisible, separate and joint, real and personal. The provisions regarding these, and the various kinds of conditional obligations present nothing that calls for particular notice.

OBLIGATIONS WITH A PENAL OR PENALTY CLAUSE.

A penalty clause is added to obligations to ensure their fulfilment or more speedy fulfilment.¶ Such a clause is of a preventive character, and saves the Court the difficulty of assessing damages. It is generally resorted to in contracts for transport, supplies, theatrical performances, because in such cases it is very difficult to adduce proof of the loss suffered, or impossible to obtain the fulfilment of the contract.

* Cod. Civ. 707 † Cod. Civ. 709.
‡ Id. 695, 696. Turin Court of Cassation, 20th May 1882.
§ Cod. Civ. 698, 699; Cod. Civ. Proc. 82.
‖ Cod. Civ. 1802, 1804, 2109.
¶ Id. 1209.

EARNEST MONEY.

Earnest money is regarded as a penalty clause, when not otherwise agreed upon. Hence the party who is not in fault can, when he does not prefer to demand the fulfilment of the contract, keep the earnest money received or claim twice the amount he has given.* The difference between the penal clause and earnest money is only this, that the latter is given in the interests of both the contracting parties, whereas the former is imposed in favour of one party only.

The provisions regarding the effect of obligations, compensation for loss, and proof of loss do not differ materially from those of the English law.

TRANSFER AND EXTINCTION OF OBLIGATIONS.

A creditor may transfer his right to another without the consent of the debtor, but the debtor may not transfer his burden to another person without the consent of the creditor.†

Obligations are extinguished by fulfilment, and in some cases even without fulfilment, for instance, when the thing due is lost without any fault of the debtor, and by prescription.

FULFILMENT BY PAYMENT.

If the obligation is to do something, it must as a rule be done by the debtor himself; if it is to give something, any person interested may give it, or even a stranger, provided he gives it in the name and for the liberation of the debtor. Payment must be made to the creditor, or to the person who at the time has become proprietor of the debt. In the absence of agreement, payment must be made at the residence of the debtor, according to the principle that agreements are interpreted in favour of the debtor. But the price of things bought or lent must be paid where they were bought or lent.‡

When there is more than one debt, the debtor has the right to declare to which debt he intends the money to be applied. But he cannot, without the consent of the creditor, apply the payment to the capital instead of the interest, as interest is subject to a shorter prescription.§ If the debtor makes no declaration, the creditor can apply the money as he pleases, provided he expressly mentions it in the receipt. In other cases the money is considered to be paid on account of the debt which has fallen due; when several debts have fallen due, on account of that debt which the debtor had the greatest interest in satisfying; and where the debts are of the same kind, the oldest, and proportionately, if all are of the same date.‖

* Cod. Civ. 1217. † Cod. Civ. 1271. ‡ Cod. Civ. 1508, 1828.
§ Id 1255, 1256.
‖ Id 1257, 1258. Turin Court of Cassation, 7th June 1877 (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1877, p. 739).

Fulfilment of an obligation is also effected by the remission or abandonment of a claim, or by compensation, which is of two kinds (1) legal or necessary, (2) judicial or optional. It is legal when two persons owe each other debts, which are certain and undisputed.* The second kind relates to set-offs claimed by defendants in civil actions.

PRESCRIPTION.

Prescription is a means by which, with the lapse of a certain time and under certain conditions, a person acquires a right or is freed from an obligation.† Legitimate possession is necessary for the acquisition of a right, known as usucapion; but this presumption is not applicable to moveables except when they have been lost or robbed.‡ As to extinctive prescription, that is, the freedom from obligations, nothing is necessary but the inaction or negligence of the person against whom it is intended to invoke the prescription.

PERIOD OF PRESCRIPTION.

Prescription can be pleaded at any stage of a case.§ The period varies from six months for actions brought by lodging house and hotel-keepers to thirty years. The limitation of actions for the price of things sold is one year, such payments generally being made within the year. It is the same for actions brought by servants, operatives, or day labourers for their wages.‖ It is three years for actions brought by doctors, advocates, professors, engineers and accountants for the payment of their *honoraria*.¶ It is 30 years for real actions.

The limitation of five, ten, or thirty years is absolute, but the shorter terms only give rise to a presumption of the extinction of the debt, which, if the creditor so requires, must be corroborated by the sworn statement of the debtor, who claims to have paid, all evidence to the contrary, however, being excluded.**

THE PROOF OF OBLIGATIONS.

Proof is not considered to be a matter of the law except in the case of some foreign law or local custom. Facts admitted need not be proved, nor those which the law presumes, nor those which are notorious, that is, generally known. Evidence adduced in a case between two parties may be considered in a subsequent case between the same parties.

DOCUMENTS OF NOTORIETY.

If the notorious fact has a general or historical character, no proof of it is required, since historical documents and books of

* Cod. Civ. 1285, 1287. † Cod. Civ 2105, 2106. ‡ Cod. Civ. 2146.
§ Id. 2133. ‖ Cod. Civ. 2139. ¶ Id. 2139, 2140, 2144.
** Id. 2142.

science are a common patrimony of all minds, which the judge also can comprehend.* But if the notorious fact concerns private interests only, proof of its notoriety may be necessary. Documents of notoriety are received and forwarded in different cases by the Sindac, by notaries, or by the Prætor, on the attestation of several witnesses. Those which the Prætor receives require the attestation of four witnesses over 21 years of age, and having full enjoyment of civil rights.

VARIOUS KINDS OF PROOF.

The principal means of proof are written documents (divided into public documents and private writings), depositions of witnesses, inspection of the place (local investigation) and of the thing (expert evidence), and the oath.

Public documents are those which must be received by and attested before a public official with reference to the nature of the document and the place where it is executed.† Private writings include all documents written without the intervention of a public official, and also those received by a public official not duly authorized, or wanting in some formality required by the law for public documents.

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS.

As a rule require no special formality ; with the exception of books kept in the course of trade, they may even contain interlineations and erasures.

There are, however, three unilateral private documents contemplated by the Civil Code, for the validity of which some formality is necessary, and a mere signature below is not sufficient. The autograph will must be wholly written, dated, and subscribed by the testator ; the secret will, written in whole or in part by a third person, must be subscribed by the testator on each page, and personally sealed and deposited by him with a notary under pain of nullity ;‡ the note in which one of the parties binds himself to pay the other a sum of money or to give something else valued by quantity (and not by quality), or even to guarantee payment, must be entirely written by the party who so binds himself, or at any rate he must add with his own hand the word "*buono*" or "*approvato*", writing also in words the amount, the rate of interest, § and the quantity of the thing. These formalities are not applicable to bilateral obligations,‖ or to notes relating to commercial¶ matters** in which, as ordinarily in all other private writings, the simple signature is sufficient.

* Court of Appeal of Casale, 18th July 1879 (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1879, pp. 843, 844.)

† Cod. Civ. 1315, 1316. ‡ Cod. Civ. 775, 782, 783, 804. § Id. 1831.

‖ Turin Court of Cassation, 21st April 1885 (*Monit. dei Trib.* 1885, p. 453). ¶ Cod. Civ. 1325.

As a general rule, a private document is not evidence in favour of its maker, but only against him. But there are three exceptions to this rule, namely, books of commerce, the books and registers of the Land Debt, and the book kept by the lessor of a metayer holding (*mezzadria*). This book is even admitted as evidence of any private agreements in addition to or modification* of the rules laid down in the Code on the subject of metayer tenancies. The law accords this favour, having regard to the lessee's want of education, and to the almost daily loans and transactions between the landlord and the tenant.

Oral Evidence.

Unlike the German and Anglo-Saxon laws, the French and Italian law show a great distrust of oral evidence. The causes of this dislike are the uncertainty and difficulty of such evidence in itself, the fear of the subornation, of witnesses,† and the multiplication and prolongation of suits. Hence the principle is acted on that whenever it is easy for citizens to get written proof of their agreements, the law is opposed to the admission of oral evidence. Hence oral evidence is not admitted of agreements relating to objects whose value exceeds 500 lira.‡ In the case of commercial agreements, however, in which rapidity and despatch are important, it is left to the discretion of the Court to admit oral testimony without limitation of amount, except in special matters, such as partnerships, bills of exchange, bills of lading, and sales of ships.

Oral testimony is admissible, by way of exception, in three cases: (1) when there is a commencement of proof resulting from a writing, not yet confirmed by the person against whom the claim is made, which renders the alleged fact probable; § (2) when it is impossible for the creditor to get written proof, as in the case of urgent bailment‖ (*deposito necessario*); (3) when, owing to accident or *vis major*, such as inundation, fire, shipwreck, the documentary evidence has been destroyed.¶

It must be borne in mind that oral testimony is not excluded in non-contractual matters, as in quasi-contracts, delicts and quasi-delicts.** For instance, the wife can prove in this way that part of the moveable property found in the estate of her deceased husband is her separate property, even though the value exceed 500 lira.†† Any one can prove by oral evidence the supply of food or necessaries to a person independently

* Cod. Civ. 1662, 1663.

† The Indian legislature would do well to follow the Italian law, and increase the number of cases in which a registered, or at least a *written*, document should be necessary.

‡ Cod. Civ. 1327. § Id. 1347. ‖ Id. 1865. ¶ Cod. Civ. 1348.

** Id. 1341, 1348, 1445. †† Id. 1445.

of contract. And even in contracts oral evidence is admissible to make the intention clear, or establish facts, which do not contradict or add to the written document.

INCAPABLE WITNESSES.

Minors under fourteen are absolutely incapable of testifying. The husband or wife, the parents, and those related in a direct line to one of the parties interested, are also disqualified as witnesses.* In ordinary wills and public documents minors under 21 cannot be witnesses; nor persons who are blind, deaf, or dumb, who are practising as lawyers, the servants of the notary, aud those who are not in the full enjoyment of civil rights.†

JUDICIAL INSPECTION.

The judge can, whenever he thi ks fit, examine the thing which is the subject of dispute. If he goes to the spot where the thing is, such examination is called local investigation (*sopraluogo, accesso*).‡ Such inspections are freely made in cases arising out of disturbance of possession or servitudes, in which an examination of the *locus in quo* is calculated to give a clear and exact notion of the matters in issue.

EXPERT EVIDENCE.

When the Court considers expert evidence necessary, it selects one or three persons in the event of the parties not agreeing in a nomination. Experts have to take an oath to act faithfully and conscientiously, and they submit a report to the judge. The report is that of the majority, the opinion of any dissentient being also given, though the name of the dissentient must not be stated. The opinion of the experts serves as a guide to the Court, but does not bind it, the judges being at liberty to take an exactly opposite view.§

THE DECISIVE OATH.

The decisive oath || (*giuramento decisorio*) may be put to one party by the other, provided the latter agrees that the case shall be decided accordingly.¶ Hence the fact, proposed as the subject of the oath, must contain in itself all the elements for the decision of the case. This species of oath may be put in any case, even when the value is above 500 lira; but it

* Cod. Proc. Civ. 236; Cod. Proc. Pen. 285, 286.
† Cod. Civ. 351, 788.
‡ Cod. Proc. Civ. 271.
§ Cod Proc Civ. 259, 264, 265, 268.
|| Cod. Civ. 1363.
¶ Secs. 8-12 of the Indian Oaths Act X. of 1873 deal with a similar kind of oath, which may be put by one party to the other, provided the former agrees to be bound by the result. The oath must be "in some form common amongst, or held binding by, persons of the race or persuasion to which the witness belongs, and not repugnant to justice or decency, and not purporting to affect any third person."

cannot be put in criminal cases, nor so as to permit the denial of a fact resulting from a public document, or of an agreement for the validity of which the law requires a written document, as the transfer of immoveables or marriage settlements.* If the person, to whom the oath is proffered, refuses to take it, he loses the case.† The essence of the oath is that one party leaves the matter entirely to the conscience of the other party. Hence, if the oath is taken, it settles the matter, and no evidence can be offered in the Civil Court to show that a false oath has been taken;‡ though there is nothing to prevent a prosecution for perjury at the instance of the Public Minister§ It should be added, however, that the case of law at the Court of Cassation of Turin is inclined to hold that the party losing the cause by reason of a false oath may proceed against the perjurer for damages. This seems to be somewhat inconsistent with the nature of the proceeding, which is intended to be absolutely binding and final.

CONTRACTS.

The Civil Code first lays down principles affecting contracts in general, the elements of a valid contract, free consent, capacity to contract, &c.; and then deals with the various kinds of contracts. Under this head there is not much of a special or peculiar character that is worthy of notice.

SALE.

By the stipulation of redemption (*riscatto*) the seller reserves the right to get back the thing sold by paying the original price, and also recouping the purchaser for any expenses incurred by him. Under the law, such an agreement cannot have a duration of more than five years. A longer term would especially affect injuriously the sale of immoveable property, as the purchaser, through fear it might at any time be redeemed, would have no inducement to improve it.‖

The right to upset a sale on the ground of excessive loss (*lesione enorme*) owing to inadequate price, is confined to immoveable property. Such a remedy is not allowed in the case of moveables, as their value continually oscillates, and is generally known, and the existence of such a remedy would be exceedingly detrimental to commerce.¶

LANDLORD AND TENANT.

A tenant for one year is entitled to a proportionate reduction of rent, if the whole or *not less than half* the crop perishes owing to fortuitous circumstances and before the crop has been

* Cod. Civ. 1314, 1317, 1364, 1382.
† Cod. Civ. 1367.
‡ Cod. Civ. 1370.
§ Cod. Pen. 374.
‖ Cod. Civ. 1515, 1516, 1528.
¶ Cod. Civ. 1529, 1536.

cut; and a tenant for a term of years also has a right to a reduction, provided the loss is not compensated by the good harvests of other years *

As regards the duration of leases, a distinction is made between urban houses and lands and rural lands and holdings. In the former case, in the absence of any agreement, the term of lease is determined by the local custom of the place, for instance, in Milan, from one Michaelmas day (29th September) to the next, and so from year to year until determined by notice in accordance with local custom.† In the case of rural lands, the leasing is presumed to commence at, and to extend to the time necessary for gathering at least once all the crops or fruits of the holding, as the rent is calculated on the basis of all produce which the lands give. Hence the lessee of a number of plots cultivated in rotation is considered to be a lessee for as many years as there are different plots.‡

The hiring of furnished apartments, in the absence of agreement, is considered to be for a year, if the rent is fixed at so much a year; for a month, if the rent is fixed at so much a month, and for a day, if fixed per diem.§

CONTRACTS OF WORK OR SERVICE.

As regards contracts of service, no one can validly bind himself to the service of another, except for a specified time or for a particular job or enterprise. If the duration of the contract is not fixed by agreement, local usage, or the nature of the service, either party may terminate it at his pleasure, after giving the notice required by custom; in Milan, for instance, eight days in the case of servants or workmen.

As a general rule, builders and contractors have no right to a larger amount than that agreed on, by reason of subsequent increase in the price of labour or materials;‖ but if the increase is the result of scarcity, or of *vis major*, for instance, the introduction of new octroi duties, the contractor may have the benefit of Arts. 1617 and 1620 of the Civil Code.

BUILDINGS.

The Code contains a provision regarding buildings, which in these days of jerry-building is worthy of notice. If within ten years from the date of the completion of a building, it falls into total or partial ruin, or is in evident danger of ruin, owing to defective construction or weakness of foundation, the architect or contractor is held responsible; by reason of his

* Cod. Civ. 1616–1619. † Cod. Civ, 1610.
‡ Cod. Civ. 1622–1624. § Cod. Civ. 1608.
‖ Cod. Civ. 1646. In India contractors have claimed larger rates for iron work, owing to a fall in the rate of exchange. It is now usual to calculate and provide for possible fluctuations of exchange.

fraud, if he has used materials of bad quality or inefficient workmen: and for negligence or want of skill, if he has failed to exercise due care in the choice of the site or of the plan.* The provision refers to original works and not to repairs, but it makes no difference whether the contractor has provided labour only, or materials as well, the terms of the law being general and absolute. The provision seems to be one in the interests of public order, tending as it does to the safety of workmen, tenants, and passers-by.

METAYER HOLDINGS.

A contract to cultivate and give half the produce of the land is called "*mezzadria*." Equal division between the lessor (*locatore*) and the cultivator (*mezzainolo*) is not essential, as the parties or local custom may fix different proportions, such as one-fourth or one-third. Equal division, however, is presumed in the absence of agreement or custom.† The tenant is forbidden to sublet or alienate the farm under penalty of the annulment of his own lease.‡ The death of the tenant in the first eight months of the year terminates the lease at the end of the agricultural year;‡ if he dies in the last four months of the year, his sons or heirs can continue the contract or lease for the following year also. The lease does not cease as of right, even when it is for a fixed term; it goes on until the lessor or tenant gives the notice at the time fixed by custom, or, in the absence of any custom, within the month of March, § so that the lessor may have time to get a new tenant, and the cultivator a new holding to cultivate. In the absence of agreement or special custom, the lessor provides half the seed, and also the plants, wood, osiers, fences, &c., required for the holding; while the tenant provides the other half of the seed, the implements for cultivation, the necessary expenses for the ordinary cultivation of the fields and reaping the crop, as well as the clearing of ditches for drainage, and the cutting of trees for the requirements of the holding. ‖ The tenant cannot reap or thresh the grain, or make the vintage, without first giving notice to his landlord.

SOCCIDA.

"*Soccida*" (derived from *società*) is a mixed contract of hire of labour and things with a certain element of partnership, though the characteristic of labour prevails. By this contract one person gives to another a number of cattle to keep, feed, and rear, the produce and increase being divided according to conditions agreed upon. The law generally leaves the

* Cod. Civ. 1647, 1654, 1661. † Cod. Civ. 1649.
‡ Id. 1653, 1654, 1664. § Cod Civ. 1651, 1664. ‖ Id. 1655, 1659, 1661.

parties to make any agreement that suits them, only laying down rules which are to prevail in the absence of agreement *

The provisions in the Civil Code regarding the contracts of *mandato, comodato, mutuo, deposito* and *sequestro* are broadly the same as the Roman law. The same may be said of the provisions regarding quasi-contracts, delicts and quasi-delicts. The quasi-contract arising out of the receipt of a thing not due to one is tersely described. He who by mistake or knowingly receives what is not due to him, is obliged to restore it to him, from whom he has irregularly received it: if he has received it in good faith, he is bound to restore only what he has received; if in bad faith, he is bound to restore not only the capital, but the interest also on the fruits.† He who, believing himself to be a debtor, pays what is not due from him, has the right to get it back, with the exception of gambling debts; but he who pays what is due before the time, has no right to get it back.‡

DELICT.

In civil law delict is defined as any unlawful and voluntary act, by which loss is knowingly caused to another. The will to harm, or *dolus*, is generally common to the civil delict and the penal delict; but all civil delicts are not offences. The definition of swindling (*la truffa*) for instance in the Penal Code does not comprise all the more or less fraudulent artifices, by which the rights of others are harmed.§ On the other hand offences are not all civil delicts, for the penal law attacks certain acts, which affect the rights of others without harming them or causing loss, as attempts to commit offences, the carrying of arms, and other police transgressions, or other acts unconnected with any intention to injure, as homicide caused by negligence.

QUASI DELICT.

Quasi-delict is the term applied to every illegal and voluntary act, by which a person causes loss to another without any intention to injure him, as the heedless throwing of something on the public road, or driving too quickly so as to hurt some passer-by or injure some property. Quasi-delict as well as delict may arise from the omission of an act or of some care which one was bound to take, as negligence in looking after those immediately dependent on us, negligence in keeping animals, in repairing a falling house, or in the choice of agents for carrying on our business. But we are not responsible for the acts of those subordinate to us, if they were not commissioned by

* Cod. Civ. 1665, 1667, 1668.
† Cod. Civ. 1145, 1147.
‡ Id. 1804.
§ Id. 2094.

us, or if the wrong committed by them has no connection with the duties entrusted by us. *

THE FAMILY.

MARRIAGE.

To be valid, marriages must be publicly celebrated in the Communal office in the presence of the Sindac (or his delegate) of the Commune, where one of the parties resides or has his domicile.† The civil marriage is a *sine quâ non*: the religious marriage may be dispensed with. As regards the person, the conjugal partnership is regulated exclusively by the law. The husband is the head of the family, must protect and maintain the wife, and supply her with what is necessary for her wants according to his station in life. The wife follows the civil condition of the husband, takes his name, and is obliged to accompany him wherever he thinks fit to fix his residence. ‡

DOWRY.

The dowry is the property which the wife (or others for her) brings to the husband for the express purpose of helping him and supporting the burdens of matrimony, and on the condition of its restoration on the dissolution of the marriage. The Italian law differs from the Roman and Austrian in leaving the parents to give a dowry to the daughter, or not, as they please. § During the marriage the husband has the administration and enjoyment of the dower, which is considered as an estate belonging to the family of the husband and wife, and can only be sold under the authority of a Court in case of necessity or evident utility.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE HUSBAND.

Marriage confers on the husband a kind of guardianship over the wife, or rather, a right to direct the administration of that property of hers which she has not brought as a dowry or placed in common ownership (*parafernali, extra-dotali*). The wife retains the simple administration and enjoyment, but cannot, without her husband's authority, alienate or mortgage, or do other acts of ownership, or even trade with the property. ‖ Such acts might endanger the property of the wife, which the law considers as acquired for the benefit of the family.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHER, *TUTELA, and CURATELA.*

The sum of the duties and rights which parents have over their legitimate offspring, constitutes the *patria podestà*, which belongs in the first place to the father, and, if he is dead and

* Cod. Civ. 1152, 1155, 1867. † Cod. Civ. 93. ‡ Cod. Civ. 131, 132.
§ Id. 147. ‖ Cod. Civ. 134, 1713, Cod. Comm. 13.

cannot exercise it, to the mother. The right is exercised over legitimate offspring, as parents have a right of guardianship (*tutela*) only, over natural sons. *

The *patria podestà* includes all acts of ordinary administration; for all acts beyond that, the authority of the Court or of the Prætor is necessary.†

THE GUARDIAN.

To minor sons whose parents are dead or incapable of exercising the *patria podestà*, is assigned a guardian, whose duty it is, with the assistance of the family council, to provide for their education, look after their property, and represent them in Court and elsewhere. If the minor is over 16 years of age, he is entitled to be present and assist at the meetings of the family council ‡

Within ten days of his appointment, the guardian is bound to make an inventory of the property of his ward. § The guardian has the care of the minor's person, represents him in civil acts, and administers his property under the supervision of the family council, to whom he is bound to render an account of his administration every year.‖

EMANCIPATION.

Emancipation is a liberation before the proper time of the minor from the hands of the father's or guardian's authority. It is implied when permission to marry is given to the minor, and is thus irrevocable. Express emancipation can be accorded to the minor who has completed his 18th year, but can be revoked in case he is found incapable of managing his property. ¶ The effect of emancipation is to give the minor the power of doing all acts which do not exceed simple administration (*la semplice amministrazione.*)

A person who is emancipated, is in an intermediate state between minority and majority. The guardian (*tutore*) has the charge of the ward's person, and represents him in all transactions. The manager (*curatore*) is appointed for the security of the property only. The guardian is assigned by reason of mental defects; the manager can be appointed for other causes also.

SUCCESSION.

Succession is either testamentary or legal (intestate.) A will may be made by all persons who have completed their 18th year and are of sane mind, except ignorant mutes and deaf-mutes, and those who are condemned to the punishment of *ergastolo.* Wills must be in writing, and may be written

* Cod. Civ. 184, 220. † Cod. Civ. 224, 225. ‡ Cod. Civ. 251, 258.
§ Id. 281, 288. ‖ Id. 277, 296, 303. ¶ Id. 310, 311, 321.

by the testator, or prepared with the aid of a notary. Those made through a notary may be public or secret. In the latter case the will is handed to the notary by the testator in the presence of four witnesses.

RESTRICTIONS ON TESTATOR.

Half a testator's property must be reserved for his legitimate heirs, but he may dispose of the other half as he pleases. Under the Italian law, a testator can only disinherit on the ground of unworthiness *(indegnità.)** If however, the testator leaves no descendants, but only ascendants, he can dispose as he likes of two-thirds of his property, the remaining third going to the parents.

If he leaves neither ascendants nor descendants, nor natural recognized sons, nor wife, he can dispose of all his property. †

INTESTATE SUCCESSION.

The main rules are the following: the property goes to the children, and in default of children, to the parents, brothers and sisters in equal portions, provided that the parents (or one of them) do not receive less than one-third. Natural sons, who have been recognized, get half the share of legitimate sons. The surviving husband or wife always has a right to a portion of the estate; in simple usufruct, if the other co-heirs are legitimate children; otherwise, the full enjoyment. He or she gets the whole property, if there are no relatives within the sixth degree. In default of any heirs in the direct line, and of brothers and sisters, collaterals succeed, without distinction between the paternal and maternal line, up to the tenth degree. If there are no relatives of the tenth degree, the property goes to the State.

A partition of the testator's property can always be demanded notwithstanding any prohibition of the testator.

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF LAWS.

The interpretation of a law may be either (1) legislative or authentic, or (2) doctrinal. The former is made by the legistor; the latter consists of the opinions or writings of those who are skilled in the law (called theoretical or scientific), and of the decisions of the Courts (practical or judicial).

Legislative or authentic interpretation is absolutely authoritative, and has all the importance of a law It also has a retrospective effect on all cases decided under the law in question, and thereby nullifies any judicial decisions which may have been arrived at in a sense contrary to the legislative interpretation.

* Cod. Civ. 725, § 8. † Cod. Civ. 809.

The scientific interpretation of those who make a study of the law has always enjoyed a great authority, so that when several writers agree in one opinion, there is ground for presuming its correctness.

Judicial decisions, *provided they are continuous and uniform*, become authoritative judicial rulings, and constitute jurisprudence.

All interpretation is grammatical or logical, extensive or restrictive. The logical or philosophic meaning is deduced from the historical element which has guided the legislation, and from an examination of the causes and occasions which gave rise to the law. The words clothe the juridical thought, but they do not always reveal the exact intention. Art. 3 of the preliminary provisions of the Civil Code co-ordinates the proper signification of the words with the intention of the legislator; and the best means of establishing such intention are the works and documents preparatory to the law, the labours of the commissions entrusted with the compilation of the law, the reports of the Commissioners charged with upholding it in Parliament, the discussions in Parliament, the reports of the ministers to the King, &c.

As to the application of the laws, judges must decide every controversy of a private character brought before them by citizens; and they cannot refuse jurisdiction on the ground that there is no law to apply, as this would leave private persons to take the law into their own hands. When there is no express provision, the judge must decide according to the general principles of law.*

A new law regulates future cases, and has no retrospective effect † unless it is expressly stated. But it may have a retrospective effect, when it is clear from its nature that it is intended to have such effect, as for instance, when a penal law is made milder, or in the case of laws of procedure or those relating to public order. ‡

THE LAW OF THE PLACE.

It is often doubtful which should be applied, the law of the place where the act was done, or the law of the country to which the actors belong. The English, American and German law prefer the principle of domicile, while the Italian, French, Swiss and Dutch laws have a greater regard for the law of the nation to which the person belongs. § It is certainly preferable to

* Preliminary provisions to the Civil Code, Art. 3.

† Id. 2.

‡ See Cod. Pen. 2: law of 6th December 1877 regarding the abolition of arrest for debt.

§ Preliminary provisions, 6.

apply the law of the countries where the act is done, and its legal consequences ensue. This principle is applied in the new Commercial Code* of Italy, which is thus opposed to the Civil Code.

Immoveable property is subject to the law of the place where it is situated ; moveable property to the law of the nation to which its owner belongs Civil and commercial obligations are regulated by the laws and customs of the place where the acts were done. The same rule is applied to the extrinsic form of transactions ; † also to the means of proof, and the value of evidence.‡

To sum up, the personal law of the individual regulates his capacity, family relations, moveable property, and the intrinsic form of legitimate as well as testamentary successions.

The law of the place regulates immoveable property, the extrinsic form of all documents whether *inter vivos* or *mortis causâ*, the competence and form of judicial acts, the means of proof, the modes of executing sentences, and the intrinsic form of obligations (when not otherwise stipulated by the contracting parties).

It must be added that, in consequence of the principle of territorial sovereignty, of the preservation of social order and public peace, penal laws and those regulating public security bind all those who live in the kingdom.§ Moreover, foreign laws and private agreements are not allowed to derogate from the prohibitive laws in force in Italy concerning persons, property, or transactions, nor from the laws which regulate the public order and good morals.‖ For instance, a married Mahomedan would not be permitted in Italy to celebrate a second marriage ; a foreign religious corporation could not possess property ; nor could an Englishman create a trust of immoveable property possessed by him. England would do well to follow Italy's example in not allowing married Mahomedans to marry English wives in England.

Though the Civil Code of Italy does not, like the Codes of Zurich and Montenegro, embody the most recent developments of juridical thought, it is well worthy of study, if only because it is the Code of a people who have inherited the finest legal system that the world has ever seen. History, as might have been expected, has left its impress on the country and the nation, and in some instances we see that the Roman common law is discarded in favour of the Code Napoléon or the

* Cod. Comm. 58.
† Preliminary provisions, 9.
‡ Preliminary provisions, 10.
§ Id. 11.
‖ Preliminary provisions, 11.

Austrian Code, which flourished in Lombardy and Venice, while in others a compromise is effected. The pride of universal empire, embodied in the phrase *"Civis Romanus sum,"* has not altogether disappeared, as the Italian Code does not permit foreigners to enjoy political rights. The great importance and weight given to custom is manifestly due to the fact, that the Code followed close on an era when the principal towns of Italy were so many separate kingdoms, with their own separate rulers, laws, and coinage.

But it is to the Indian statesman, legislator or judge that the Italian Code should prove most interesting, as showing that the bent and genius of the Italian nation resembles, in some respects, that of the more intellectual of the Indian races, the Tamil, the Maharatta, and the Bengali. Private claims and interests seem to have encroached on public rights, even though the common law and statute law (both in Italy and India) are highly favourable to the maintenance of the latter. The rural servitudes are similar to those prevailing in India, while co-parcenership and metayer tenancies largly prevail in both countries. Then the Government has powers of compulsion for the improvement or protection of landed estates similar to those given by the Indian Acts relating to drainage and embankments. The power of the father and the husband is extensive in both countries, while the strong family feeling is seen in the restriction on prosecutions for certain offences against relatives, the limitations on the power to leave property by will, *et similia*. A not very dissimilar bent of mind may be inferred also from the importance attached to the giving of earnest money, the distrust of oral evidence, the disqualification of certain near relatives as witnesses, the necessity for, and frequency of, local investigations in cases arising out of disputes about land or easements, the decisive oath (equivalent to the oath administered on the Koran or while holding the *tulsee* plant), and the provisions aimed against dishonest builders and contractors.

Finally, the amount of delegated legislation in both countries is extensive, and the legislative decrees, regulating decrees and Royal decrees of Italy may be compared to the legislation of the Viceroy of India under the Statute 33 Victoria, Chap. 6, and generally to the quasi-legislation of the Local executive Governments in many matters.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

ART. VI.—BENGAL: ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

(Concluded from No. 202, October 1895.)

Miscellaneous.—MR. SHERRING *on Indian Castes.—(Contd.)*

MR. SHERRING'S treatment of the whole subject appears to us to be loose and capricious. Part III of the first volume of his work is headed, "Mixed Castes and Tribes,—Vaisyas, Sûdras and others." He therefore practically considers that the Vaisyas and the Sûdras are mixed classes of people. In the first chapter of this part, he treats of the social and political relations of the Vaisyas and Sûdras, and he ends it by writing an article on the ceremonies among the Sûdra castes. In the second chapter he gives a short account of sects of devotees and religious mendicants, such as Gosain, Dandi, Tridandi, Jogi, Sanyasi, Bairagi, Sri Vaishnav, Rádhá Ballabhi, &c., &c. We do not quite understand the rationale of this treatment. In the third chapter he treats of bards, musicians, singers, dancers, buffoons, &c., as if these stood next in the chain of mixed castes after the sects of devotees and religious mendicants, who are never considered as belonging to any caste at all. In the fourth chapter he treats of castes of bankers, merchants and traders. It is needless to point out the incongruous way in which Mr. Sherring has dealt with the whole matter. In our present article we have no concern with the mode of Mr. Sherring's treatment of the subject and merely offer a passing remark. We will now see whether the castes which exist in the North-Western Provinces correspond with the principal castes of Bengal, which we have dealt with in this article.

And first, as regards the Brâhmans: the Gotras which the Brâhmans of Bengal possess are the same as those of the Brâhmans of the North-Western Provinces, but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to identify the particular families from which the five celebrated Brâhmans of Bengal came. The Kanoujiá Brâhmans proper of the North-Western Provinces inhabit "the districts of Kânpur and part of Fatehpur to the north, the district of Banda to the west; of Hamirpur to the south, and part of Etawah to the south west." They have the following *gotras* which are called *satkul*, or six families, but in reality they reckon six and a half which are practically seven.

Gautam.		Upmány.
Sândil.		Kásyap.
Bharaddwáj.		Kâshtip.
	Garg.	

There is another class of Bráhmans called the Sarjupariá Bráhmans, or those who live in the other side of the river Sarju. They are said to have emigrated from Kanauj, and their social status is inferior to that of the Kanoujiá Bráhmans. But this inferiority is not admitted by the Sarjupariás. Their gotras are :—

1.	Garg.	Considered as Kulins.	9.	Kausik.
2.	Gautam.		10.	Chandráyan.
3.	Sándil.		11.	Sávarnya.
4.	Bharaddwáj	Inferior in rank.	12.	Parásar.
5.	Vashisth		13.	Pulasta.
6.	Vatsa.		14.	Vrigu.
7.	Kásyap		15.	Atri.
8.	Kásyap		16.	Angiri.

The Kanoujiá and the Sarjupariá Bráhmans disavow all connection with the Bráhmans of Bengal, although there is not the least doubt that both have sprung from one common stock. It is hopeless to identify the particular families from which the Bráhmans of Bengal have sprung.

As regards the Kshatriyas, they are not very numerous in Bengal. Those who are domiciled in this country have practically little social intercourse with their brethren of the North-Western Provinces, while those who come here for the purpose of trade and have their homes in those provinces, are not cut off from their own community in the Upper Provinces.

As regards the Vaisyas and Sûdras. In vain do we seek in Mr. Sherring the classes of people of the North-Western Provinces who properly occupy the position of the Vaisyas and Sûdras. The Agarwâlâs affect to speak of themselves as the only true Vaisyás. They are a wealthy class of people, and are devoted exclusively to trade. The Oswáls are also a wealthy class of Baniyás found in Benares and in many other parts of the North-Western Provinces. The Hálwais are spoken of as the confectioner caste. The Telis are sellers of oil, and, although "they occupy a respectable position among the lower castes, the higher castes will not permit them to touch their food." Speaking of the Káyasthas, Mr. Sherring says that :—

"The writer caste come somewhere at the head of the Súdras, or between them and the Vaisyas. Nothing is known decisively respecting its origin; and although disputation on the subject seems to have been unbounded, no satisfactory result has been arrived at. The Káyasths themselves affirm that their common ancestor, on the father's side, was a Bráhman; and therefore lay claim to a high position among Indian castes. But the Bráhmans repudiate the connection, and deny their right to the claim, giving them the rank of Súdras merely. Wilson, in his glossary, states that they sprang from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother, but gives no authority for

the assertion. According to the Padam Purán, they derive their origin, like the superior castes, from Brahmá, the first deity of the Hindu triad. The Bráhmans assent to this, but add that it was from the feet of Brahmá, the least honorable part, from which they imagine all the Súdra castes have proceeded. The Káyasths as a body trace their descent from one Chitragupt, though none can show who he was, or in what epoch he existed. They regard him as a species of divinity, who after this life will summon them before him, and dispense justice upon them according to their actions; sending the good to heaven, and the wicked to hell. The Játimálá says that the Káyasths are true Súdras. Manu, however, (X. 6) states that they are the offspring of a Bráhman father and a Súdra mother. With so many different authorities it is impossible to affirm which is correct."

Mr. Sherring speaks correctly when he says that the "writer caste comes somewhere at the head of the Súdras, or between them and the Vaisyas," In our article on the Káyasthas we have conclusively proved that they are of mixed origin, but that they stand midway between the Vasyas and the Súdras according to the law of Manu. But Mr. Sherring is certainly incorrect when he says that according to Manu (X-6) they are the offspring of a Bráhman father and a Súdra mother. They are not the offspring of a Bráhman father and a Súdra mother, but of a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother, and this point we have clearly proved in the previous part of our article. The descendants of the five Súdra servants of the five Bráhmans invited by Adisur have blood running through their veins in common with the Káyasthas of the North-Western Provinces, although it is not possible, at this distance of time, to identify the particular families from which they sprang. The separation has lasted about 900 years, and the Káyasthas of Bengal disown all connection with their brethren of the North-Western Provinces, who, in return, do "not recognise the former as Káyasthas at all."*

The reason of this mutual repudiation is obvious. The Lálá Kayets represent the original stock, and are naturally averse to own their identity with the Káyasthas of Bengal. They look down on them as truants or aliens to their stock, while the Bengal Káyasthas, having worked up to a higher place in the scale of Hindu society—whether by craft or diplomacy, matters not—, are unwilling to acknowledge their common descent. Another reason seems to account for this mutual repudiation, and that reason appears to be very probable. The Lálá Káyets are the pure Káyets, and they have a natural pride in the integrity of their origin, while, according to some

* *See* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, Part III, No. 1, 1893.

writers, it is doubtful whether the Bengal Káyasthas originally belonged to the same stock of Lálá Káyets. Some suppose, with Mr. Dalton, that the five servants who came in the service of the five Bráhmanas, were taken from the Poorbees, a class of cultivators in the North-Western Provinces. When they arrived in Bengal, they assumed the name of Káyasthas, and were afterwards elevated to the rank of head Súdras, by the favour and patronage of the king, and through the influence of the newly imported Bráhmans. This much, however, is certain, that the ancestors of the five servants who arrived at the court of Adísur with the Bráhmanas, are not traceable, while those of the five Bráhmanas are known to be of the same stock with the Bráhmanas that still exist in the North-West. The Káyasthas themselves are unable to give an account of their ancestors in the North-West, or of the caste to which they belonged, till they migrated to, and settled in, Bengal. Still they talk big of Kaithism and Kulinism!

The next castes that come in Mr. Sherring's list of mixed castes are the Sonárs (goldsmiths), Niáriyas (those who purchase refuse collected in the goldsmiths' shops), Barhais (Carpenters), Kharadis (turners), Lohárs (blacksmiths), Qulaigars (those who tin copper utensils), Kumhars (potters), Hawaigars (sellers of gunpowder and fireworks), &c., &c. In this list, Mr. Sherring has packed together certain real castes and all sorts of professions. Again he finds that the Kumbhis (Kurmis), Koeris, Kachhis, Mális, Barayis (Barjuis), Tambolis, &c., are engaged in cultivating the soil, and he therefore treats them under one heading: "Agricultural castes." Mr. Sherring has further the following classifications of castes:—

Chapter XI—Castes of herdsmen, shepherds, &c.
" XII—Castes of personal attendants and servants.
" XIII—Castes of weavers, thread-spinners, dyers, boatmen, salt manufacturers and others.
" XIV—Hunters and fowlers.

In reading Mr. Sherring's works, one is especially struck with the ignorance the Rev. gentleman has displayed in treating of a subject which is foreign to his avocation as a minister of the Church of Christ. They are of no value whatever to one who wants to acquire a full knowledge of the real castes of the people of the North-Western and other Provinces of India. A chaotic mass of information is brought in without the least attempt to give it any shape, and pretexts are always found to pour abuse on the Bráhmans, to hold up to ridicule any custom or ceremony which is incompatible with the writer's idea of civilisation, and to sneer at what he calls "abominable stories of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Krishna and other deities." It does not appear from his writings that Mr. Sherring was acquainted with the Sanskrit language and

literature at all. He had, therefore, no right to pass remarks outrageous to the feelings of the Hindus. His attack on the Bráhmans is wanton and unjustifiable. He has scarcely come in contact with any good Bráhman at all. Missionaries, for the most part, derive their information from converts, who, recruited largely as they are from the scum of Hindu society, represent facts otherwise than as they really are; and, from the writings of Europeans who have never trodden the soil of India, and who, from the information gathered at second hand, draw conclusions in conformity with their own creed. It is needless to say here that the end of Mr. Sherring's works is—Down with the castes! We should not have referred at all to such a work as Mr. Sherring's, for we do not, as a rule, look to European writers for information which lies buried in our own archives, or in what we can derive from our original *Shástras* and sources. If we are at times led to quote what foreign authors write, it is because we cannot help exposing the errors they commit through either ignorance or prejudice.

A controversy has lately been going on in the columns of the *Statesman* about Mrs. Besant's views on caste. Mrs. Besant considers the four great castes a distinct advantage to a social system, and holds that the very idea and theory of caste becomes absurd if one does not believe, as she does, in Re-incarnation. Those who hold the doctrine of Re-incarnation "know that, when caste was real, each soul was born into the caste for which its qualities fitted it, and they believe position in this world was then the direct outcome of the evolutionary position of the soul." In other words, Mrs. Besant believes in the transmigration of souls. We know that Pythagoras learnt this doctrine from the East and believed in it, as Mrs. Besant does now. Manu frequently alludes to it in his "Manava Dharma Shástra." The Mahábhárat gives the stories of previous births of several individuals. The Puránas are all replete with such stories. The idea of Re-incarnation is one which lies deep in the Hindu mind. Hindu philosophers have held this doctrine for ages past, and the chief object which the Hindu Shástras have in view is, to obtain emancipation from the series of re-incarnations which every soul by its actions is heir to. Every real Hindu believes in the doctrine, and our females are not behind in their belief. The Mogul Emperor Akbar is said to have recited the following story of his previous birth.

There was at *Prayéga tirtha* a *Brahmachári* named Srimukunda, who had a steady follower—a Brahman—as his attendant. This Brahmachári practised *yoga* * every day, but

* Commonly the word 'yoga' means addition, union, &c The Yoga as practised by our Munis and Rishis, is the process by means of which the human soul is brought in contact with the divine soul and is ultimately lost in it.

before he could come to the end of it, he drank milk, one day, with a hair of the cow which lay hid in the milk. From this moment his mind constantly turned to the pleasures and enjoyments of the world. He thought over the matter, and, understanding that he had swallowed a cow's hair which acted as a hindrance to his practising further *yoga*, came to the conclusion that it was useless to bear the body any longer. Accordingly, the Brahmachári, embracing the *Bánchhá-Bata** tree and desiring to be re-incarnated as an emperor, put an end to his life. His attendant also followed the same course. The former was re-incarnated as the Emperor Akbar and the latter as his courtier Birbar (known in history as Birbul).

The controversy after a length of time divides itself into two sides—caste, or no caste. We will not plunge into it; but we feel bound to say something on the philosoply of caste as given in the Bhagavadgita.

According to the Gítá, the soul is immortal; it cannot be destroyed; it does not destroy others; it has no birth or death; it does not wax or wane; it has no end with the destruction of the body; it is not destroyed; arms cannot pierce it, fire cannot burn it, water cannot soil it, air cannot dry it. But then the question arises—where does it go after the destruction of the mortal frame. On this point, the Gíta has the following sloka;

বাসাংসি জীর্ণানি যথা বিহায়
নবানি গৃহ্ণাতি নরোঽপরানি।
তথা শরীরানি বিহায় জীর্ণা
ন্যন্যানি সংযাতি নবানি দেহী॥

Chap. II, verse 22.

As man, laying aside old clothes, puts on new ones, so does soul, quitting old bodies, enter new ones.

And further Srikrishna has the following words to say to Arjuna;

বহূনি মে ব্যতীতানি জন্মানি তব চার্জ্জুন।
তান্যহং বেদ সর্ব্বাণি নত্বং বেত্থ পরন্তপ॥
অজোঽপি সন্নব্যয়াত্মা ভূতানামীশ্বরোঽপি সন্।
প্রকৃতিং স্বামধিষ্ঠায় সম্ভবাম্যাত্মমায়য়া॥

* This *Bánchhá-Bata* tree still exists in the Fort at Allahabad. Visitors are allowed to see it; but it is no longer a living tree. The story goes on to say that Akbar, fearing lest any one else should become an Emperor like himself, ordered burning lead to be poured on the tree and its sides to be built up with stones. Akbar used to drink no other water than the waters of Prayága—where, in his former life as Brahmachári, he had spent his days in practising Yoga.

যদা যদা হি ধর্ম্মস্য গ্লানির্ভবতি ভারত।
অভ্যুত্থানমধর্ম্মস্য তদাত্মানং সৃজাম্যহং॥
পরিত্রাণায় সাধূনাং বিনাশায় চ দুষ্কৃতাম্।
ধর্ম্মসংস্থাপনার্থায় সম্ভবামি যুগে যুগে॥
জন্ম কর্ম্ম চ মে দিব্যমেবং যো বেত্তি তত্ত্বতঃ।
ত্যক্ত্বা দেহং পুনর্জ্জন্ম নৈতি মামেতি সোঽর্জ্জুন॥

Chap. IV, verses 5-9.

Oh Parantapa Arjuna! both I and you have undergone many re-incarnations! I know them all, but thou dost not.

Even though I am without birth, indestructible, and lord of all animated beings, I, remaining fixed in my own nature, manifest myself in my own *máyá*.

Oh Bhárata! whenever Dharma declines and Adharma prevails, then do I re-incarnate myself.

For the purpose of preserving virtue, destroying vice, and establishing Dharma, I re-incarnate myself from *yuga* to *yuga*.

Oh Arjuna! he who knows truly my self-willed birth and preternatural action, does not re-incarnate after leaving the present body; he obtains me.

From the above slokas it will be seen that the soul wanders from body to body, that the Great Soul of which all souls are parts, sometimes re-incarnates itself for the preservation of Dharma, and that that soul which knows the Great Soul does not re-incarnate, but is absorbed in the Great Soul.

The Gítá has the following sloka regarding the creation of the four castes. Srikrishna says to Arjuna:—

চাতুর্ব্বর্ণ্যং ময়া সৃষ্টং গুণকর্ম্ম বিভাগশঃ।
তস্য কর্ত্তারমপি মাং বিদ্ধ্যা কর্ত্তারমব্যয়ম্॥

Chap. IV, verse 13.

(It is true that) I have created the four castes according to qualities and actions, but, although I am the creator, know me (truly) to be inert and in inoperative.

And again—

ব্রাহ্মণক্ষত্রিয়বিশাং শূদ্রাণাঞ্চ পরন্তপ।
কর্ম্মাণি প্রবিভক্তানি স্বভাবপ্রভবৈর্গুণৈঃ॥

Chap. XVIII, verse 41.

Oh Parantapa! the actions of Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Súdras are classified according to qualities which naturly grow in them.

The reader will thus know the views of the *shastras* respecting the creation of the castes, and, in general, of the re-incarnation of

the soul. The castes were created according to the *satwa*, *rajas* or *tamas* quality, or a prevalence, or a mixture proportionately, of two of them. Thus the *satwa* quality is the distinctive characteristic gnomon of a Bráhmana. The actions which spring from the *satwa* quality are—peacefulness, control of the passions, devotion, purity, forgiveness, simplicity, knowledge, erudition, and belief in the existence of God. These are said to be the natural actions of a Bráhmana. A mixture of the *satwa* and *rajas* qualities forms the distinctive feature of a Kshatriya's actions. The natural actions which spring from a mixture of these qualities are heroism, noble pride, patience, ability, standing firmly at the time of war, munificence, and a desire to rule over others. A mixture of the *rajas* and *tamas* qualities forms the characteristic feature of a Vaisya's actions. The actions which naturally proceed from this mixture are—cultivation of land, tending of cattle, and commerce; while the *tamas* quality reigns supreme in a Súdra, and the natural action which proceeds from this quality is service to others.

It thus appears that the system of caste was originally based on actions which proceed from one or other of the three natural qualities, or from a mixture of two of them; and the position which is generally accepted throughout the country, that the son of a Bráhmana is a Bráhmana, of a Kshatriya a Kshatriya, of a Vaisya a Vaisya, and of a Súdra a Súdra, is therefore one which cannot stand the *shastric* test when applied to it. It is possible for everyone, if properly initiated by a good spiritual guide, to proceed in the path of intellectual and spiritual improvement and to attain the position of a Bráhmana. Bráhmanhood is, therefore, obtainable by quality, it is not hereditary. If a person born in the family of a Bráhmana does not act as a Bráhmana should do, he may be said *to be born in the family of a Bráhmana* but he cannot be called a *Bráhmana*. Conversely, if one born in a low family gets first beyond the *tamas* quality, then the mixture of the *tamas* and *rajas* qualities, then the mixture of the *rajas* and *satwa* qualities, and at last comes to the pure *satwa* quality, he can then be styled a *Bráhmana*. Mere birth in a Bráhmana family, without attaining the Bráhmanhood by pursuing the course of actions prescribed by the shastras, does not entitle a man to be reckoned as a Bráhmana. *

This view of the *shástras* respecting caste is admitted, at least in theory, by everyone who is fully acquainted with them, though in practice it is ignored by all, the Pandits included. At present the right of birth constitutes the right to a peculiar caste. The fact is that the first selection for the Bráhmana class was made of persons whose actions were the

* See Gita. Chap IV, verse 13, and Chap IX, verse 32.

outcome of the *satwa* quality, that the first selection for the Kshatriya class was made of persons whose actions were the outcome of the *satwa* and *rajas* qualities, and so on. These divisions were made for the economy and advantage of a particular community, and the idea of re-incarnation forming a part and parcel of the caste system, must therefore be scouted as absurd. The soul may migrate from one body to another, as in the case of Srimukunda re-incarnating as the Emperor Akbar; but the question of caste has nothing to do with it. The caste system exists only in India: in other parts of the world the system does not exist at all. Some sort or sorts of social distinction, it is true, exist in every other country, but these distinctions bear not even the slightest resemblance to the caste system of India. That system is a purely human invention, made for the good-government of a society, and a good deal of wisdom was displayed when it was first created. Every country of the world has produced a number of persons who might stand shoulder to shoulder with Bráhmanas or Kshatriyas; but, having been born outside the geographical limits of India, they did not belong to any caste such as is found in India. In their case the re incarnation does not seem to have any connection with caste, and, with due deference to Mrs. Besant, we are of opinion that her theory is one which cannot be entertained with any show of reason. The theory of the transmigration of souls is given somewhat in detail in the twelfth chapter of Manu, but in it we find nothing which favours Mrs. Besant's blended theory of caste and re-incarnation. The soul, by its actions, might re-incarnate into a worm that crawls on the surface of the earth, or into a god. Again, Buddha raised his voice against the Vedic rites of sacrifice and burnt offering, but he did not disrespect the pious and learned Bráhmanas, though he viewed with disfavour the restrictions with which the caste system was environed in his time. He held that a man becomes a Bráhmana by holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression. The great object of his preaching was how to prevent the series of re-incarnations which every soul was heir to on account of its actions, so that it might ultimately cease to undergo sufferings which distress myriads of souls. Holiness of life, control of passions, and love to everybody, friend or foe, are the quintessence of Gautama Buddha's religion, and are the means to attain *Nirvana*. With *Nirvana* the re-incarnation ceases. But, until that state of beatitude is obtained, the soul must re-incarnate itself. Nothing is said in Buddhistic writings about the caste into which the soul must be born again. The question of caste does not come in at all in any writings about the transmigration of souls. Mrs. Besant, in her zeal for Hinduism, has out-Hindued the Hindus.

THE CURSES OF CASTE.

In the course of our article we have shown the evils, or curses, flowing from stereotyped customs or practices to which the people of Bengal have been subjected for a number of centuries, and which have practically paralysed the vital force of the nation. A naturally intelligent race, with quickness of comprehension, with intellectual and moral achievements that strike the admiration of other people of India, and of foreigners, too, the Bengalis have evinced a fondness for the rigid observance of their caste such as is scarcely met with among any class of people on the face of the earth, the Hindustanis, perhaps, excepted. Before the days of Ballála, or perhaps of Adisura, the people of Bengal, like other people of India, had among them the caste distinction; but it was surely not so rigid or severe as it afterwards became. There was still freedom in the shape of choice of wives from a class or classes below; the people were still permitted to go beyond the country to foreign lands for the purpose of carrying on trade or commerce; but the enactments and rules that were drawn up in Bállála's time and subsequently, have for ever closed these openings. Besides, instead of maintaining the four classical castes, the kings of Bengal, surrounded as they were on all sides by enervating luxuries, did not recognise the Kshatriya, or the military class at all. They forgot that that class of people was to the society what the arms are to the human body; but they might, had they chosen to do so, have created such a class, to protect the country from foreign aggression. They thought, most probably, that the descendants of those who passed as Kshatriyas in the Kuru-Pándava war, were Kshatriyás, and that no new Kshatriya class could be formed, forgetting the noble example set by Rájá Duryodhana in the case of the hero Karna, who was at once raised to the status of a Rájá, so that Arjuna might no more have any pretext for declining to measure strength with him. They had most probably a few mercenary North-West people scattered over the country as guards to protect the people; but their army no doubt consisted of *latials* and *lascars*, who were more for show, like the retinue of the petty hill chiefs of the Punjab, than a really organised army. Their all-engrossing thought was social innovation, such as *Kulinism*. Their court was, perhaps, the hall for Pandits to display subtle powers in logic, and for buffoons to excite mirth or laughter. They sadly neglected the heavy responsibilities which God, in his providence, had imposed on them as protectors of the people and country, and, like Thebaw, had to pay dearly for that neglect when Bukhtear Khiliji attacked the palace with sixteen followers. Thus was Bengal lost for ever to freedom. The ancient division of the people into four classes, in which the

Kshatriyas stood as the second in order, was a very politic measure and essentially necessary for the welfare and prosperity of a nation ; but this division was not utilised in Bengal at all in practice, and the consequence of the omission was the loss of the liberty of the people. The Bráhmanas who attended the courts of the Kings of Bengal were unworthy descendants of those mighty Rishis, or sages, who, possessed as they were of transcendental knowledge and wisdom, might be justly said to know the present, the past and the future. Unlike their worthy ancestors, they courted royal favours for themselves and for their caste, and failed to edify the kings with sound instruction as regards their duties to the people and to their country. The wisdom of separating a class, *viz.*, that of the Bráhmanas, from the rest of the people, with privileges which are never allowed to any other class of people, was truly god-like ; for, apart from inculcating divine knowledge among the people, it was truly the Bráhmanas whose sound advice and instruction made the Kings of Bháratvarsa invincible to aggressions from without. Added to this, the proud Kshatriya class, who were taught never to turn their back to the enemy, were truly a terror to the surrounding nations. These were the blessings of caste in ancient India. But in Bengal, the Bráhmanas, like their ancestors, claimed precedence over all other classes, *without discharging the sacred duties which they owed to the country and the people ;* and the Kshatriya class was not recognised at all in practice. The Vaisyas, the third pedestal of society, were levelled with the Sûdras, their ancient privileges ignored, and then proclaimed *non est.* All classes of people were treated as born to serve the Bráhmanas, till in process of time they really came to believe this to be their destiny. The Bráhmanas were left alone, supreme lords of the country, to fatten on the toil of others without reciprocating their obligations to the people, who, forgetting their ancient pedigree and their ancient privileges, kept themselves at a respectful distance from them, and blindly paid homage to them as to gods. The key of the ancient Aryan lore and literature was in the hands of the Bráhmanas, but as a class the Bráhmanas themselves had fallen from their high position. They were no longer the Bráhmanas who, in days of yore, filled the sky with Vedic hymns, and who by practising holiness of life and control of the passions, inspired the minds of the people with sublime thoughts and divine courage. They fell off from the *satwa* quality and coveted worldly possessions and enjoyments—honours and riches—but they had not the necessary qualifications to acquire them by honest labour. They, therefore, depended on the people in general for them. Like the drones, they laboured not, but enjoyed the fruits of others' toils. They exercised an immense influence

over the monarchs of Bengal, who, happening to be lower in social status than themselves, were easily led by the nose. And after this could the people dare raise their voice against the Bráhmanas? The Bráhmanas vigilantly guarded the prerogatives of their caste, and, whether learned or illiterate, religious or irreligious, they in a body claimed divine homage from the people in general, who, deprived of the divine knowledge which their ancestors possessed in common with the Bráhmanas, were not in a position to exercise their judgment regarding these claims.

The result of this degradation of the people, both social and moral, was the prevalence of dark prejudices and blind superstitions, and the payment of divine homage to the Bráhmanas. The nation lost its vital force, and became an easy prey to foreign conquest. Thus the system of caste, which was a distinct advantage to Aryan society, came in Bengal, to be the very cause of the ruin of the country.

Caste is a purely human institution which grew up spontaneously in course of time, and, when mature, was classified into the divisions in which we find it at the close of the Vedic period. It was based on quality, and actions flowing from that quality: in other words, it was based on professions which people followed severally, or were allowed to follow with the tacit consent of the whole community for the welfare of society. Caste has no relation with the religion or the observance of religious rites and practices and devotion. In other words, it was not based on a graduated scale of religiousness. In the Gítá, Srikrishna says to Arjuna:—

সমোঽহং সর্ব্বভূতেষু নমে দ্বেষ্যোঽস্তি ন প্রিয়ঃ।
যে ভজন্তি তু মাং ভক্ত্যা ময়ি তে তেষু চাপ্যহম্॥

Chapter IX, verse 29.

All creatures are equal before me, therefore none of them is object of my dislike or love; but those who worship me in faith and love, dwell in me, and I also dwell in them.

And further on.—

মাং হি পার্থ ব্যপাশ্রিত্য যেঽপি স্যুঃ পাপযোনয়ঃ।
স্ত্রিয়ো বৈশ্যাস্তথা শূদ্রাস্তেঽপি যান্তি পরাং গতিম্॥

Chapter IX, verse 32.

Oh Pártha!* persons born in sinful families, women, Vaisyas, and even Súdras, surely obtain beatitude at the end by clinging to me.

These passages show clearly that caste and devotion to God are distinct from one another. A high-caste person is not

* Partha is another name of Arjuna.

necessarily a virtuous or a religious person, while a low-caste person may, by devotion and virtuous action, attain blissfulness at the end. But high-caste people, such as the Bráhmanas, have the means ready at their hand for practising such devotion, while people born in low families have many difficulties to encounter before they can lead such a life. The Bráhmanas, as a class, have the key of divine knowledge in their hands, while persons born in the servile class are generally ignorant, and cannot readily distinguish actions human from actions spiritual. Many persons born in a lower class than the Bráhmanas have signalized themselves by piety, devotion and control of passions, while many Bráhmanas, actuated by dark passions, have led a life of irreligiousness, to the disgrace of their high birth. These instances of religiousness on the part of persons born in lower classes, and of irreligiousness on the part of persons born in the upper classes of society, are daily seen everywhere in the country, and none can deny them. We, therefore, come to the position, that caste and religion are not identical, or that the former is not the cause out of which the latter is evolved.

In Bengal, however, the reverse is the case. There it is held that caste and religion stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect, that the loss of one entails the loss of the other, and that the preservation of the one necessarily goes in the way of preservation of the other. A person may transgress laws of caste and thereby become an outcast, though he may not be a whit less religious than he was before; but his religiousness will avail him nothing: people will not hold communication with him on account of his loss of caste. But the most comical part of this social farce is, that how irreligious soever a person may be, he is accepted as a member of the community, provided he keeps himself well within the pale of the caste in which he was born. A Bráhmana, for instance, may be a liar, a thief, an adulterer, or a fornicator; but so long as he does not eat rice cooked by a Chandála, or openly marry a girl of the Dòm class, he will be generally respected as a Bráhmana, and people will not dare impeach him openly. A halo of sanctity is supposed to surround a Bráhmana, and people are always inclined to condone even the gravest crimes committed by him on account of his supposed high birth. The highest caste in Bengal has thus secured a privilege which is denied to any lower caste. Ignorant as the people of Bengal in general are, they are taught to revere the Bráhmanas from their childhood, to take the dust of the feet of Bráhmanas on their forehead, and to drink the water in which the right toe of the Bráhmana has been dipped.*

* This practice of drinking water touched by the right toe of a Bráhmana by persons of the Súdra caste after bathing, and before any food is taken,

The result is the degradation of the people both morally and spiritually They are taught from their infancy to pay the Bráhmanas divine homage, which is due only to the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Universe. They are taught to believe that, born in sinful and low families, they have not the right to worship the Invisible Being, except through the Bráhmanas who are gods in human form. In ancient India the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas had equal right with the Bráhmanas of performing for themselves religious rites and sacrifices; in Bengal the military class is extinct, and, except the Bráhmanas, all sorts of people are either Sûdras or of mixed class, though, as we have conclusively proved in the previous part of this article, the Vaisyas still exist in their original purity. In ancient India the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas exercised a healthy check over the Bráhmanas; in Bengal the Bráhmanas are the only twice-born class existing, privileged to do whatever they please. Ignorance and prejudice stalk over the land, and the moral tone of the people is at low ebb. The nation has lost its power of thinking, of distinguishing right from wrong, and of forming any adequate conception of the infinite power and wisdom of the Ruler of the Universe. Trees, stones, birds, beasts, reptiles, evil spirits, and what not—are more or less worshipped throughout the country, and idle and meaningless stories regarding them are handed down from mouth to mouth. The Bráhmanas themselves, to a great extent, share in the belief of the people, and are as ignorant as they are.

And who is to blame for this sad state of affairs? The Bráhmanas? We think not. The cause of a nation's fall or

still prevails throughout the country, especially in the *mufassil*. Such water is supposed to possess the efficacy of curing diseases, and of keeping the body in a healthful state. The dust of the place trodden by a lakh of Bráhmanas (লক্ষ ব্রাহ্মণের পদধূলি) is also supposed to possess the highest efficacy of curing incurable maladies, and some rich people in the past did actually invite a lakh of Brahmanas at an expense of thousands of rupees for the sole purpose of collecting the dust of the place trodden by them, which was then preserved in a *maduli* made of copper or gold, and worn on the neck or arm by persons suffering from diseases pronounced incurable by physicians. So the late Kaviwalá Dásarathi Ray, a poet of no mean order, sings :—

হইলে অসাধ্য ব্যাধি, বৈদ্য কি তার জানে বিধি,
সে রোগের মহৌষধি, ব্রাহ্মণের পদরজ।

When a malady becomes incurable, does a physician know its therapeutics? The most efficacious remedy in that case is the dust of the feet of Bráhmanas.

The ballad, of which a portion is quoted by us, is sung with enthusiasm throughout the country!

rise is mysterious, and lies hid in the cycle of events which pass over its head. Each single event, such as a religious movement, a political cataclysm, a social innovation, or a close contact with another nation, commences slowly to work a change in the action of a nation, and in two, three or more generations, paves the way for its downfall or rise. The rise, spread, and extinction of Buddhism, the social innovations made during the reigns of Ballála and his successors, and lastly the conquest of the country by the Mahomedans, have gradually reduced the nation to the deplorable state in which we find it at this day. How far each of these events has had a share in working out the ruin of the country, is a matter on which we are not at present warranted to dilate. Suffice it to say that the last of the events named, *viz.*—the conquest of the country by the Mahomedans—is one of the immediate causes of the degradation of the nation. During the prevalence of Buddhism, the Buddhistic rites and practices were, no doubt, adopted to a large extent by the mass of the people, just as certain practices of Europeans are eagerly adopted by the present generation of the Bengalis. Buddha was no respecter of caste: his dining with Ambapáli, the courtezan, who was soon after admitted to the Holy Order, and his acceptance of the meal offered by Chunda, a goldsmith and ironsmith, prove that he did not pay any heed to restrictions as regards taking of food from low classes of people. These examples, set by a person of high class —a Kshatriya and prince—had great weight with the people, many of whom, no doubt, followed them. Buddhism was prevalent throughout the country for more than a thousand years. On its decline, the social practices of the people were neither Hindu nor Buddhistic; they were a compound of both. If Hinduism be represented by a force running in the horizontal direction, and Buddhism by a force counteracting it in an oblique direction at an obtuse angle, the social practices of the people of that period may be figured by the resultant of the two forces acting in contrary directions. The Bráhmanas, who had watched with vigilance this state of society, at once set themselves to weed out the social practices and customs which had grown up during the prevalence of Buddhism, and to draw up stricter social rules than existed before. Taking of girls by a high class person from a lower class, and community of food and drink between the several castes, and also between people of different classes of the same caste, were forbidden under penalty of forfeiture of caste. The institution of Kulinism and other social innovations were made, with the sole object of compelling the Bráhmanas to abide by stricter social rules as regards marriage than before, and the example was soon after followed by the Káyasthas. The Mahomedan

conquest of the country was a political cataclysm which threatened to obliterate the Hindu name. In any other country on the face of the earth this would surely have taken place, but the Bengalis were superior to the conquerors in intellect and in religious knowledge, and were proof against the influences of the Moslem religion. But, nevertheless, those of them who came in constant contact with the new rulers of the country, and learnt their language and literature, gradually adopted some of their social practices too. To guard the people from coming into closer contact with the conquerors than was necessary for the government of the people, a new legislation was codified on the basis of the Mánava Dharma Shástra and other Dharma Shástras of previous ages, with complicated rules, social, moral and religious, for the guidance of the whole life of the Bengalis. These laws, which were promulgated by Raghunandan Góswami of Nadia, the Manu of Bengal, still bind down the people. The nation was thus saved from being merged in the conquerors, but the consequences of the measures taken to preserve the integrity of the Bengali race are visible throughout the length and breadth of the land; the blessings accruing from the institution of caste have altogether disappeared, and have given place to curses destructive of the interests of the whole race.

The system of caste as it prevails in Bengal at the present day has divided the people into classes without number, each of which lives by itself without any intermixture. Formerly the Bráhmanas were one class of people with one object in view, *viz*; the spiritual welfare of the nation; and if there was any distinction among them on account of the diversity of practices followed—as for instance, Bráhmanas intent on acquiring self-knowledge, Bráhmanas practising austere devotion, Bráhmanas practising both religious austerity and the study of the Veda, and Bráhmanas performing sacred rites—that distinction was a mere matter of form, based on difference of pursuits; but there was no interdiction as regards community of food and drink and exchange of girls. The great Vaisya class, though following a variety of professions, was one integral class, with community of food and drink and exchange of girls, and the same may be said of the Kshatriyas and Súdras also. In Bengal, however, the classes of Bráhmanas are legion, each moving within its own circle and having no social connection with the rest. The same may be said of the different classes of the Vaisyas and the Súdras. The result is that the whole nation is split up into innumerable petty clans, which cannot possibly have any sympathy with each other, and therefore cannot unite together for any national purpose. The only feeble chain that binds them together is Hinduism in all its phases, but it cannot make the people unite for any national

cause. Hinduism is the most elastic and the most catholic religion on the face of the earth; its doctrines are liberal and susceptible of adaptation to any circumstance of life. It recognises a future life or lives, but it has no eternal damnation or perdition, and does not enjoin the massacre of those who do not follow it. On the contrary, it allows that followers of a religion other than Hinduism, by strictly adhering to the doctrines or tenets inculcated by it, will attain beatitude at the end. It teaches its followers that the present world is a *máyá* or illusion, and that the real world is that which is to come at the end of the present life. Religion, therefore, which is thought in other parts of the globe to be the chief bond of human society, is, in Bengal at least, not a potent factor at all in drawing the people together for any common cause. When Sutteeism was abolished, the people of the country made some show of resistance to the measure, but the Government stood resolute in its purpose, and, happily for the good of the country, the resistance melted out like snow at the touch of the vernal solar rays. Again, when widow marriage was legalized, 35,000 people, headed by the late Rájá Sir Radhakánta Deva, Bahadur, protested against it, but it was a feeble resistance, which could not shake the resolution of the Government, and the Widow Marriage Act was passed. That Act did not affect the Hindu community, except in some isolated cases of inheritance and succession, but, nevertheless it was an enactment in direct contravention of the civil rights of the people as laid down in the Hindu law of inheritance and succession. And, lastly, when the Age of Consent Act—the most impolitic measure ever enacted under British rule—was passed, the people raised their voices more loudly than before, and even went so far as to make some show of resistance; but they were as the shriekings and croakings of frogs to impede the progress of the elephant.

The up-countrymen and the Bengalis are the descendants of the great Aryan race, and the system of caste prevails as strongly among the former as it does among the latter. In course of time their languages, though sprung from one parent stock—the Sanskrit language—have become quite different from one another. Their social customs, habits, observances, &c., are also different form one another. Physically, the up-countrymen are of stronger build than the Bengalis, but intellectually the Bengalis are admittedly superior. Their religious observances agree in the main, though they differ in some particular points. Notwithstanding their common origin, they are now reckoned as two distinct and alien peoples. Climatic influences have also produced a difference in their physique. They forget that they are the only true representatives of the mighty Aryan nation of old, who, pouring down on

the plains of the Punjab from their nest beyond the Hindu Koosh, drove the aborigines of the country before them, chaunted the sublime hymns of the Vedas on the banks of the Sarasvati, built houses and temples, organized government, promulgated laws, and cultivated arts and sciences at a time when Greece had not yet been born, and Cimmerian darkness and the gloom of barbarism had not yet been penetrated by the light of civilization. They forget that they were once feared and respected by the surrounding nations, but are now reckoned amongst half-civilized peoples. They forget that they have a classical language—the Sanskrit—which has been pronounced by competent authorities to be "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either." They forget that they first cultivated the rudiments of astronomy, the science of numbers, the art of medicine and surgery, and all sorts of noble arts and sciences, which have only received a finish at the hands of modern nations. They forget that they have given to the world a religion (though now extinct in their own country) whose votaries out-number those of any other religion that exists at the present day. They do not seem to realise their abject position in the scale of nations. They entertain the idea that in the Kali Juga *mlecchaism* prevails, and that the gods themselves are asleep; but they forget that God, in the plenitude of wisdom, has appointed the so-called *mlecchas* to govern the fate of mankind, and that the gods themselves are asleep in this iron age, because they are not rightly invoked. Caste is their all-engrossing thought; caste forbids them to travel beyond India, to go to the country of the *mlecchas*; but they should remember that their ancestors had no such foolish prejudice, and that the great Sankarácháryа travelled as far as China.*

We repeat what we have said before, that this isolation of the Bengalis, and, in fact, of the whole Hindu race, has produced evils to which the fall of the nation is in a great measure as-

* There is a story current that Sankaráchárya, the most successful enemy of the religion of Buddha, set out on a journey to China to see the goddess Chínésvarí (চীনেশ্বরী) On crossing the borders of India, he saw with disgust the prevalence of *mlecchaism* among people through whose country he passed, and he therefore proposed to retrace his steps to India. In the night the goddess *Chínésvarí* appeared before him in a dream and bade him come to China and see her, explaining that the customs and practices of one people are as good as those of another. Sankaráchárya obeyed the mandate of the goddess and travelled to China. We do not vouch for the authenticity of the story, but the moral contained in it is edifying, as condemning prejudices foolishly raised against crossing the borders of India on account of *mleccha* customs prevailing in countries beyond.

cribable. Sea adventures make a nation bold and enterprising, just as was the case with the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the people of Britain. Had there been no sea-adventures among them, America would have still remained undiscovered, and India would not have formed the brightest jewel in the crown of Her Britannic Majesty. We have ample evidence that in Sumatra and Java the Hindu religion and civilization flourished,* but the caste-rules were made so rigid after the Mahomedan conquest, that crossing the geographical limits of India, or the sea, entailed loss of caste. At the present day any Bengali going to England is made an outcast on his return to India; and, as his manners and practices are thoroughly changed and formed after the model of the Europeans, he does not care to be re-admitted to the caste to which he belonged. Frivolous causes, such as the eating of onions, journeying from one part of India to another in a steamer, &c, were made the ground for outcasting a person.†

* See Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, page 81.

† For the information of our readers, we give here a few interesting instances of the outcasting of persons.

(*a*) About 70 years ago, Gurudás Bysack was made an outcast on the ground of onion having been eaten by a member of the family. He was not re-admitted into society until he had spent some thousands of rupees in making gifts to Bráhmanas and entertaining his caste men with sumptuous feasts.

(*b*) Rai Sreenarain Bysack, Bahádur, late Dewan of Government House and Toshakhaná, accompanied the Governor-General from Calcutta to Madras in a steamer. On his return from Madras, the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta cut off social communication with him, a few of his nearest relatives, about a dozen people or so, including the present writer, still clinging to him. He remained so cut off from society for some years, until, in 1862, it was arranged through the influence of some of his relatives and friends, that he must confess his social crime before the assembly of his caste-men and ask for a general pardon. A meeting was accordingly convened in which the Rai Bahádur, with cloth on his neck and with folded hands (signs of humility and penitence), had actually to ask for pardon of every member of the assembly, and he was then re-admitted as a member of the caste to which he belonged.

(*c*) A hundred and thirty years ago two sailors, flushed with liquor, happened to enter the house of Brojodulal Bysack, through the private entrance (*khirkee*). on the occasion of the Durga Puja festival at the house, that had attracted crowds of people from the different parts of the town and suburbs on account of some new chandeliers which Brojodulal had for the first time procured from England and lighted in the *Dalan* and court yard. The sailors were, of course, immediately turned out; but such was the rigidity of the caste-rules at the time, that Brojodulal was at once made an outcast, on the pretext that the sailors had insulted the women. Brojodulal spent an enormous sum of money for re-admission into the society from which he was unjustly cut off.

Another evil which caste has produced in Bengali society is the apathy, or even contempt, with which certain professions or arts are viewed by high caste people, and the consequent stagnation or retardation of progress which has come about. Take, for instance, the art of weaving. Cloth is an every-day necessity, like *dál* and rice; in fact, the latter may be dispensed with at intervals, as is usually done by our devout people, but the former cannot be dispensed with for a moment. Those who actually ply the loom and shuttle are looked down upon with contempt not only by the Bráhmanas, but even by the Setts and Bysacks themselves, who have either never delved or spun, or who have given up the art of weaving from time immemorial. Cloth manufacture is an honorable occupation, but unfortunately in India it is looked down on with contempt. The Bráhmanas boast of being above such occupation, and the Setts and Bysacks pride themselves on being superior to the cloth-manufacturers. But the Setts and Bysacks forget that the staple of their trade was principally cloth; and if they had spent their lakhs in producing cheap articles such as are supplied from Manchester, their condition would not have been so humiliating as it is at present.

At present a Bráhmana is not restricted from carrying on a profession other than his sacerdotal duties, and the same may be said of any other caste. If, instead of cherishing pride of caste, the Bráhmanas, the Setts and Bysacks, the Suvarnavaniks, the Káyasthas, &c., were to unite together for a common purpose, success would no doubt be the result, and the abject condition of the people of Bengal would, in a great measure, be ameliorated. The present writer firmly believes that if, instead of cherishing hostile feelings towards each other, instead of vaunting their high caste and high pedigree, instead of clamouring for more political freedom, and opposing every act and measure of Government, the people of Bengal were to stand on a common platform for the restoration of their ancient art of

(*a*) Advaita Charan Datta (commonly known as Adi Datta) was sentenced by the late Supreme Court at Calcutta to transportation for fourteen years for the offence of rape. On his return from transportation he was made an outcast; and as he did not submit to the humiliation of asking for pardon of his caste-people, with cloth on his neck and with folded hands, he was not re-admitted into society.

These instances will suffice. At present, the caste-rules in Calcutta are not so severe as they were thirty or forty years ago. In villages, however, they are very severely felt, for, besides being cut off from society, the person doomed to be an outcast, is also denied the services of *dhobis* and barbers and priests. Any person found talking with him, or entering his house has to give an explanation of his conduct, which, if not satisfactory to the *dalapati* (headman of the *dal* or guild), is made the ground of excommunicating him also.

weaving, now on the decline, and meeting the wants of the millions of their countrymen, they would not only improve the condition of their countrymen, but would themselves become a power in the State.

Other technical arts, such as carving and engraving, the manufacture of cutlery and brass utensils, carpentry, masonry, &c. are also looked down upon with contempt by the high caste people of Bengal. If in indigence, they prefer working as employés in Government offices and European firms, and in houses of rich Zemindars, to adopting any such art for a livelihood. The notion which is generally entertained is, that the adoption of such technical arts is humiliating and degrading, while service is thought to be honourable.*

Pride of race is a pardonable weakness, but such pride, when indulged in to excess, and when it takes the form of an imaginary assumption of superiority over the rest of the people, becomes ridiculous. We yield to no one in our admiration for the *Munis* and *Rishis* of old on account of the holy life they led, and the high intellectual and moral capacities they evoked, but we cannot admit that such pride, or even family pride, is a sign of sound healthy feeling, or worthy of imitation.

We repeat we have the greatest admiration for our sages of old. There is, however, another side of the shield to which we cannot shut our eyes. There is no doubt that the world owes a debt of everlasting gratitude to India for the splendid legacies her sons left behind in the shape of learning and rich stores of knowledge that are still the theme of admiration; but we think that, if our sages and forefathers had been less philosophical, less moral, and less contemplative; if they had been more worldly, and sown the seed of unity among the chiefs of the land, they could have reared up a nation physically strong, like the Spartans of old, to repel the tide of conquest that overwhelmed the country from time to time, and secure the independence of the people.

In the Hindu or Mahomedan period there was not so much of false pride or vanity on the part of the people of mixed classes as at present. The high caste people were then universally respected by the low caste people. Since the advent of the English in the country, the entire order of things has changed. The Káyasthas, for instance, have assumed an air of superiority over other classes of people who pursue the profession of an artizan, such as a brazier, or a kármakár: they approach

* Such is the foolishness displayed by many Bráhmanas, that they do not hesitate to accept the post of a sarkár, a gomasta, or a mohurir, in the employ of a rich Tagore of Calcutta, or in that of a rich Mullick (Suvarnavanik) family, and yet they talk loud of their high caste and Brahmanism, and the loss of caste on the part of their employés.

the ideal of the writer class of the East India Company—the so called covenanted civilians. The profession of the Káyasthas was akin to the profession of the writers of the East India Company, and the Káyasthas, who obtained ready employment in the service of Government, thought their vocation superior to that of an artist. Formerly the rich classes of people, whether Vaniks, Setts and Bysacks, Kánsáris, or Karmakárs, formed a class by themselves, who carried their heads higher in society than they do at present, and, as the rich people in every country take precedence in society, they naturally occupied a higher social rank. This they did irrespectively of the caste or calling to which they belonged. It was only the *sunri* class (wine sellers) who could not, or did not, establish themselves on a level with them. The Hindus of the first British period were more cosmopolitan in their habits and disposition than are the English educated people of the present day, who pretend to be more enlightened, but who discard all real notions of honour or true gentlemanliness. The artizan classes, as a rule, do not care for high education, as they find no attraction in the service of Government, and the result is that very few of them obtained access to genteel society or the English-speaking classes. The civilians gave an artificial aspect to the upper classes of native society, while the natives, especially the well-to-do classes, have acquired a taint in their habits of underrating the real aristocrats of the land.

At present a change is gradually coming over the nation, and this is wholly due to the spread of English education in Bengal. English education has done in a few years what Mahomedan rule was unable to effect in six hundred years. Whether this change will ultimately prove a boon or a curse to the country, is a problem which cannot yet be solved with any degree of certainty. Most probably it will be for the good of the country. The first few batches of English educated Bengalis were a curse to the country; they disregarded every rule of society, disobeyed their parents, tasted of forbidden dishes (abominations to the Hindus), laughed at the religious ceremonies of their forefathers, wounded the feelings of their neighbours and relatives by doing acts against the religion of the country, and apishly copied all the vices of the Western nations The country was in a state of revolution. From the creation, however, of the University, a change in an oblique direction is gradually coming about, and the present educated Bengalis are steering a medial course between the ancient orthodoxy and the rebellious deeds of the past English educated generation, though it cannot be denied that many of

them are still a curse to the country.* But the point with which we are immediately concerned is, that the rigid rules of caste are gradually assuming a milder aspect; and if English education has done anything in India, it has begun to work this most desirable change. In cities and large towns where English education prevails, the rigidity of caste-rules is being gradually mollified, and Súdras may be seen sitting on the same bed with Bráhmanas, and shaking hands with them, and doing other acts which would not have been tolerated half a century ago; but in villages and outlying places, where the mass of the people are still ignorant, the rigid rules of caste are strictly enforced.†

Shakespeare and Milton, Homer and Virgil, Bacon and Hume, threatened to effect a revolution in our society; but the writings of such oriental scholars of Europe, as Jones, Colebrooke, Bopp, Lassen, Weber, Max Müller and others have awakened a deep interest in the mind of the Bengalis for the cultivation of the classical language and literature of India. The English educated Bráhmanas now tacitly admit the degradation of the people, to which the present caste system has brought them, the Vaisyas find with amazement that their ancient rights and privileges have been withdrawn, and the Súdras and mixed classes are anxious to secure for themselves a better footing in the scale of society than was allowed to their ancestors in past times. But nevertheless, nothing can be done immediately to remedy the evil. Slowly and silently the change must proceed, and many generations must elapse before a radical reform can be effected. And if any social reform as regards caste is to be effected at all, it must be done on the basis of the ancient shástras of the country, and not on the lines advocated by Christian and Brahmo Missionaries.

We cannot conclude this chapter without speaking a word or two in respect of the Piralis and the Suvarnavaniks. These two classes of people appear to us to have been very badly treated by our countrymen. They have been unjustly cut off from the rest of society for a long time, and an *amende honorable* is now imperatively necessary. We do not know

* Here we do not speak of those Bengalis who have breathed the atmosphere of England, France, and other countries of Europe, and who sedulously shun their own countrymen and identify themselves with the Sahibs, but of those Bengalis who live in the midst of their countymen.

† An instance occurred within our knowledge in which a certain Suvarnavanik, in company with a Kshatriya friend, entered the house of a Bráhmana in a village. The Bráhmana was in the act of chewing betel when he received them, but on learning from the Kshatriya that his comrade was a Suvarnavanik, he at once left the room, threw the betel out of his mouth, and cleansed it with water, as if he had come in contact with some loathsome object.

what particular social crimes were committed by their ancestors, so that the scourge of ostracism should visit them still from generation to generation. The causes ascribed for their excommunication are flimsy, and cannot be entertained with any sense of justice. If the smelling of forbidden dishes and the piercing of a golden calf can truly operate as causes for the loss of caste, should not the actual tasting of beef and fowl and brandy—favourite dainties with many well-to-do and educated Bengalis of the past and present generation—be held to be a stronger ground for excommunicating a person, nay, the whole family and the whole class? And yet such social crimes go unpunished at the present day! The father, an orthodox Hindu, with *tulsi málá* round his neck and *chandan* marks on his forehead, may be seen daily turning seven times round the *tulsi* plant and spending his days in a strict adherence to the *shástras* and religion, while the son—a haughty youth of twenty or twenty-five, may be seen dining at a hotel, and unblushingly tasting of European dishes. Such a spectacle takes place every day in many high caste families, and yet the rigid rules of caste are a dead letter to them, while the Piralis and the Suvarnavaniks, many of whom are known to be devout people, abiding by the religion of the country, live isolated from the rest of society on the score of some imaginary social crimes committed by their ancestors in ages out of all record and memory.

CONCLUSION.

The Bráhmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas who form part of the population of Bengal Proper, are the representatives of the ancient A'ryas, and, in our opinion, as we have already said, the Súdras are also descended from the same stock.* The difference between the first three classes of

* The theory cherished by many European scholars, and accepted by some native writers, that the Súdras represented the original inhabitants of the country, and that they were admitted as members of the Aryan community, because they adopted the religion and civilization of the A'ryas, appears to us to be open to objection. The word 'caste,' or 'class,' is misleading, but we have been obliged to use the one or the other simply because we could not help doing so. The word used by Manu and other legislators is বর্ণ (Varna) which really means colour. The Bráhmanas, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas, are the twice-born Varnas, while the Súdras, who form the fourth Varna, are once-born. Thus we have in Manu—

ব্রাহ্মণঃ ক্ষত্রিয়ো বৈশ্যস্ত্রয়োবর্ণা দ্বিজাতয়ঃ।
চতুর্থ একজাতিস্তু শূদ্রো নাস্তি তু পঞ্চমঃ॥

Manu Chap. X, verse 4.

"The Bráhmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (Varna) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Súdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste)."
Bühler's translation

"The three twice-born classes are the sacerdotal, the military, and the commer-

people and the Súdras lay in the fact, that the former had a second birth in the Shástras, and had the right of reciting the Vedas and performing sacrifices for themselves. The Súdras, on the other hand, had no such right and were destined to serve the three higher classes.

cial but the fourth, or servile, is once-born, *that is, has no second birth from the* Gayitri, *and wears no thread:* nor is there a fifth pure class"

Sir William Jones' translation.

Bühler's translation appears to us to be more correct than the translation made by Sir William Jones. Kulluka Bhatta, the commentator of Manu, explains the couplet thus:—

> The three Varnas in which the Bráhmans stand first in rank are called twice-born on account of their privilege of wearing the holy thread; the fourth Varna Súdra, again, is once-born on account of the want of the holy thread. Again there is no fifth Varna; like mules, the mixed classes, on account of their being outside the pale of the caste to which their fathers and mothers belong, have no right to be enrolled among the Varnas, but may be classed as *játi*

It thus appears that the four Varnas are pure; and we can hardly be persuaded to believe that the aborigines of the country were enrolled as the fourth pure class by the A'ryas, but we may admit, without fear of being contradicted, that a servile class did accompany the A'ryas when they first migrated to the plains of the Punjab; and when, in later times, the division into Varna was made, they were placed as the last in the scale of society. Certain aboriginal tribes, by conforming to the religion of the A'ryas, might have augmented their number, though, of course, living by themselves as distinct sub-divisions, without being allowed to mix with the real Súdras.

In the Vedas the aborigines are spoken of as *dasyus*, the colour of whose skin was dark or black. Thus in the Rig-Veda we have—

ইন্দ্রঃ স ৎসু যজমানং আর্য্যং প্রাবদ্ বিশ্বেষুশতমূতি রাজিষু মনবে শাসদ্ অব্রতান্ ত্বচং কৃষ্ণাং অবন্ধয়ৎ। *Rig-Veda*, 1—100—8.

> Indra who gives help in a hundred ways in all wars has saved the A'ryas in the battle, and punishing the *abratas* (*i. e.* those who do not observe shástric rules) has brought the black skinned (people) under the subjection of men, (sons of Manu)

In the Atharva Veda, a distinction is also made between an A'rya and a Sudra. Thus:

তথাহং সর্ব্বং পশ্যামি যশ্চ শূদ্রঃ উতার্য্যঃ। *Atharva Veda*, 4—20—4.

By this (plant) I see every body, be he an A'rya or a Súdra.

These passages have probably led certain scholars to think that the Súdras were the aborigines of the country, who were brought into subjection by the A'ryas. It is true that the A'ryas conquered the aborigines of the country, but it does not follow that the conquered people formed the Súdra Varna. The passage of the Rig-Veda quoted does not at all warrant such a conclusion; and the passage from the Atharva Veda speaks of a mere distinction which existed between the three high class Varnas and the Súdras, but that distinction does not appear to be the distinction which is understood when the words 'Hindu' and 'Yavana' are used in contradistinction to each other. The word 'A'rya' means 'honourable' or 'venerable,' and the epithet was exclusively applied to the three twice-born classes. The last class—the Súdras—though originally of the same stock, were denied the honour on account of their want of true knowledge, and also on account of the servile position in which they stood in relation to the twice-born classes. If the black-skinned dasyus, who were conquered by the A'ryas, formed the Súdra Varna, how is it that among the barbers, who are known to be pure Súdras without a question, there are persons whose skin is as fair as the skins of the three high

The mixed classes, such as the Ambasthas, Káyasthas, &c., do not belong to any Varna, but they form distinct Játis. The four Varnas, with the mixed classes (Varnasankara) in the *anuloma* order, form so to speak the Hindu society in Bengal. The mixed classes of the *pratiloma* order, such as the Chandálas, &c., are not reckoned as Hindus at all, and are not considered fit even to be touched.

Caste has the advantage of parcelling out a people into divisions or communities who live, move and have their being within the prescribed spheres. They marry within their circle, and enjoy certain privileges by virtue of their ties of affinity and consanguinity. The system of caste is based on natural laws, and has therefore survived the vicissitudes of age and evolution. It has a very large sphere for the exercise of brotherhood, the relationship extending far beyond the narrow limits recognised by other nations. The natural fruit of the caste-system is the joint-family system. To the Englishmen, the idea of a joint-family is something foolish, absurd and preposterous ; yet such a system prevailed in all its original

class Varnas? and how is it that among the Bráhmanas, there are persons whose skin is as black as charcoal? The celebrated Pandit Chánakya, who helped Chandragupta in obtaining the throne of the Magadha kingdom, was a Bráhmana of this description, and are we to suppose that he was not an A'rya? Rájá Rámchandra, Srikrishna, Arjuna Draupadi, and others, were also of black colour. The fact is that the A'ryas generally were of fair colour, but even then there was a distinction of colour among the first three Varnas. Thus the colour of the Bráhmanas was fair and white, that of the Kshatriyas somewhat reddish, or a mixture of white and red, and that of the Vaisyas yellowish, or a mixture of white and yellow. The Sudras, on the other hand, were generally of black colour, but many high caste people were also of black colour. Certain prescribed modes of living are known to produce a difference in colour. Food, drink, exposure to the rays of the sun, &c., as well as climatic influences, produce a difference in colour. The Súdras who formed the servile class had not the means of living on an equal footing with their masters and the nature of their vocation obliged them to be exposed to the rays of the sun On the other hand, these causes, or at least some of them, had no doubt been in operation in producing a difference of colour visible among members of the high class Varnas. So the original distinction of colour, if it really had been in existence when the four Varnas were formed, appears to be more imaginary than real. The real distinction lay in the nature of the profession or vocation which each of the four classes followed. The argument that the Súdras represented the abórigines of the country, who were of black colour, is therefore not supported by facts.

Manu, however, uses the term " Dasyu " in a quite different sense, when he says, in verse 32, Chap. X of the ' Mánava Dharma Shastra,' that ' a dasyu begets on an Ayogava woman, a Sairandhra, &c. The following explanatory note appears below the verse in Bülher's translation

> " NOTE.—Men of low caste are Dasyu, such as Chandálas—Ch. V, verse 31. Dasyu, *i. e.*, a ' servant for wages ' (Medh., Gov., Ragh), or ' a hard-hearted man ' (Medh), or ' an angry man ' (Kull.), or ' a murderer ' (Ragh.), or ' a low caste man' (Nand). The term denotes, however, properly the aboriginal robber-tribes, and probably includes all those resembling them. ' One who follows forbidden occupations,' *i. e.*, ' a Bráhmana who has become a warrior or a trader, and the like ' (Medh) or a butcher and the like (Nar.)"

In Sir William Jones' translation of the verse, a Dasyu is interpreted as equivalent to an outcast of any pure class.

vigour in Hindu society, and was the immediate cause of manifold blessings among the people. In many parts of India, the joint-family system still prevails, and the law of inheritance and succession is entirely governed by the *Mitakshara* Code. In Bengal, however, the *Dáyabhagá* of Jimutváhana prevails, which allows a person who has once become possessor of wealth and property to exercise his right as regards the disposal of that wealth or property after his death.* But the joint-family system, in a modified form, still exists in Bengal. As long as the *karttá*, or the headman of the family, lives, the sons and grandsons must live jointly under his control and must have no separate entity. Their individual interests are merged in the general interest of the family. If there be only one earning member in the family, his income must go towards the maintenance of the whole family. There should be no distinction or difference in the mess, clothing, or even in the gift of ornaments to the ladies. All are of one family, and all must be maintained on the same scale of decency. In matters of social usages, the *karttá*, or the headman, alone is recognised. The kinsmen and relatives, as well as people of other castes, have the name of the *karttá* entered in their *farda* (ফর্দ্দ), or list of persons to be invited, and the invitation issues in his name only. If, owing to illness, or any other valid cause, the *karttá* himself is unable to attend, the next eldest member of the family may attend instead.† When the *karttá* dies, the sons may either choose to live under the control of the next eldest member of the family, or the whole property is divided among the sons according to the established law of the land, who then live separate from one another, and each of whom becomes a *karttá* by himself with his sons and grandsons. All differences respecting the division of the wealth or property are settled by arbitration (*sálisee*). At present the general tendency of the Bengali community is towards separation, and litigation after the example of the many foreign people, who have domiciled in the country.

The Bráhmanas of the present day are not the Bráhmanas of the Vedic times, or the Bráhmanas whose duties are so well defined by Manu. They have lost the *satva* quality which once elevated them to the venerable position they occupied in Aryan society. Instead of devoting their life to meditation and

* In some cases, but notably in the Tagore Will case, the High Court has given a decision which appears to be contrary to the spirit of the Hindu law and Maharája Sir Jotindramohan Tagore is the Trustee, and not the heir to the estate of the late Prasanna Kumar Tagore! The Hindu law never recognises the right of one who openly renounces Hinduism and embraces Christianity.

† It must not be inferred that the *kartta* alone attends the invitation call: all the members of the family may, as it is generally the case, accompany him.

prayer, to the performance of *yoga*, and to the diffusion of true knowledge; instead of seeking the spiritual welfare of the nation; instead of renouncing the pleasures and allurements of the world, they have become worldly men in the full sense of the word, and have sunk to the level of ordinary men. They lived in humble cottages and their wants were few. Monarchs* and chiefs and warriors, cultivators and merchants, tradesmen and artizans, and people of the servile class, bent down their heads before them. For the riches of the world they cared not. In early life they subjected themselves to a very hard bodily and mental discipline, which enabled them to resist the temptations of the world.† They gave the law to the people, and set examples of good and virtuous acts for others to imitate and follow. They propounded the *Shástras* to the people, who, in return, did all in their power for their maintenance.

Now the social position of the Bráhmanas has changed. Except the *Purohits* and *Yajmáné* Bráhmanas, who minister to the religious performances for their *yajmáns*, and who are for the most part ignorant of the Sanscrit language and literature, the Bráhmanas, as a class, do not care for the spiritual welfare of their countrymen, but pass their days in the pursuit of professions or vocations which formerly belonged mostly to other classes of people. They do not hesitate to cultivate the land, to lend money at interest, to serve as cooks, sarkars, mohurirs, gomastas, &c., in the employ of rich Vaisya or Súdra families, or to carry on trades of all sorts, including the sale of meat and wines. They serve in Government offices and European firms, in indigo and tea factories, and in the railway. Some of them go to England and other foreign countries, to qualify themselves for some profession; others adopt medicine, engineering, &c. A very few of them keep *toles* and cultivate the Shástras. In a word, the Bráhmanas of to-day are more worldly people than their ancestors. But it is not their own fault that they are so. With the fall of the Hindu sovereignty their prestige has begun to wane, and they are obliged to live like other classes of

* It is said that Alexander the Great, while in India learning the fame of a great *yogi*, sent for him to appear before his royal presence. The *yogi* replied that, if the monarch was desirous of seeing him he might himself come to him. Alexander was so struck with this bold reply, that he condescended to go to him personally. The Emperor Akbar used to pay his visits to a *yogi* unattended by his guards, walking like an ordinary man. It is said that, in certain matters connected with the administration and government of the country, Akbar consulted the *yogi* and abided by his decision. This sufficiently accounts for his predilection for the Hindus.

† It is not to be understood that all Bráhmanas were of this description. Worldly Bráhmanas there were, as at present, but their number was proportionately less than the number of Bráhmanas who were above the world.

people to keep body and soul together. In proportion as the Bráhmanas have renounced their ancient occupation, other classes of people have stepped in in their place, for the gate of learning is open almost to every one of them. Even before the advent of the English nation to this country, the Vaisyas, the Súdras, and the mixed classes, were allowed to have some access to the Shástras, and the preachings of the great Nadiá reformer, Chaitanya, himself born of a pure Bráhmana family, did much to elevate their position in the literary scale. A host of brilliant writers, chiefly Vaisyas, Súdras, and mixed classes, succeeded Chaitanya, and their literary productions formed a new epoch in Sanskrit and Vernacular literature. Chaitanya was not a respecter of caste; he shrank not to embrace the low caste men, and even the Mussulmans, many of whom became his followers. The spirit of Chaitanya still hovers throughout the land; and, although the Vaishnava sect has degenerated into one of shallow pretensions, his followers are found in many respectable families. These followers are not wholly illiterate people. They read the religious works of the Vaishnava Dharma, such as the Chaitanya Charitámrita of Krishna Dás, the Chaitanya Bhágavat of Brindában Dás, the Chaitanya Chandrodaya Nátak of Kavi Karnapúr, with its beautiful translation into Bengali by Premánanda Dás, the heart-melting treatise on faith, charity, prayers, &c., of Narottam Dás, the Chaitanya Mangal of Lochan Dás, the writings of Yadunandan Dás, &c. They also read the exquisitely mellifluous writings of Jayadeva, Vidyápati, Chandi Dás, Govinda Dás, Gnyan Dás, and other writers who preceded Chaitanya, as also the profoundest and most philosophical treatises of those who were Chaitanya's contemporaries, and who laboured with him to rouse the people of Bengal from the lethargic state into which they had sunk for a number of centuries. They also read the Bhágavata Purana and recite *stotras* (prayers) and *padávalis* of Jayadeva and other writers. Their *gurus* or spiritual guides are Gosains (Goshvámis), who whisper *mantra* into their ears, which they daily recite after performing ablution and before taking any food whatever. But it must be noted here that the followers of Chaitanya, as a rule, do not disregard the Bráhmanas, but revere and honour them. Generally, the Vaisyas and the Súdras are the followers of Chaitanya. Some of the mixed classes also are more or less his followers. The majority of the Bráhmanas, Vaidyas and Káyasthas are *Sáktas*, or worshippers of Sakti, and do not hesitate to take meat; but the followers of Chaitanya are absolute vegetarians, though in their early life many of them take fish only, but renounce it afterwards.

A second Chaitanya*, in the shape of English education, has since appeared in our midst to rouse the people of Bengal from their deep lethargic slumber of ages, and to diffuse a new life and spirit among them. Under its vivifying influence, the Bengalis have begun to realize a sense of duty towards their country and countrymen. They find that they have as much right to the cultivation of letters as the Bráhmanas themselves, who, with all their pretensions, are no more than mortals like them. The monopoly of sacred knowledge and learning which the Bráhmanas had enjoyed from time immemorial was then taken away from their hands, and other classes of people were invited to participate in it. The Vaisyas, the Súdras, and people of mixed castes have lifted up their heads as competitors of the Bráhmanas, who now find with amazement that they are no longer the masters of the field. The spell is broken, and the notion that none but the Bráhmanas have a right to knowledge and learning has vanished like a morning dream. The Suvarnavaniks, the Setts and Bysacks, the Vaidyas, the Káyasthas, the Sadgopas, the Telis, the Kaivarttas, the barbers, &c., all stand side by side with the Bráhmanas and strive for the mastery of the field. Every year a number of candidates appear at one or other of the University examinations, and a good many of them come off successful. On a reference to the results published in the Government Gazettes, it appears that the Bráhmanas and the Káyasthas figure most prominently. The following explanations, no doubt, account for the strange result. Before the Bráhmanas had almost no secular profession or trade to follow. As a class, they lived on the industry of others, either by performing Pujás and religious ceremonies in the houses of their *yajmáns*, or by keeping *toles*. Many of them had nothing to do but to collect the *bársik* (annual allowance) fixed for their maintenance by Rájás, rich Zemindars or landholders. Others lived by working as cooks in houses of Vaisyas and Súdras, or simply by begging. The Káyasthas also, like the Bráhmanas, had no trade or profession to pursue. A number of them filled the posts of sarkárs, mohurirs, canoongoes; others lived by opening *Pát-shálás*, and imparting elementary knowledge in reading, writing, and arithmetic to children in villages, and also in

* The word 'Chaitanya' signifies the state of wakefulness, or a state in which sensation and perception are clear. The great Nadiâ reformer, as long as he lived in the house, was known by the names of Bisvambhar, Gaur Chandra, Gaur Hari, Gauranga Nimai Pandit &c., but when he renounced the world, *i.e.*—became a Sannyási. Keshava Bhárati, who initiated him into the life of an ascetic, called him Srikrishna Chaitanya, because he was then accepted as an incarnation of the god Krishna, and because he roused the people from the state of spiritual torpor into which they had sunk. After that he was known as Srikrishna Chaitanya, or simply, Chaitanya.

large towns. The ignorant class among them lived by selling ink, hawking cloth, fruits, &c., in the streets of large cities and towns, or working as menial servants in rich families. When the gate of English education was opened, the Bráhmanas and the Káyasthas gladly seized the opportunity to improve their condition. The case, however, is quite different with the rich classes of people, such as the Suvarnavaniks, the Tagores, the Setts and Bysacks, &c., who, born and bred in the lap of luxury, did not care much for English education, or who had some lucrative trade or profession to follow. It is not a fact that the Bráhmanas and the Káyasthas have innate intellectual capacities, and that other classes of people are behind them in intellectual calibre.* But it is a fact that the Bráhmanas were the custodians of learning and literature from time out of memory, and that the Káyasthas, as a body of people serving as State servants, were obliged to acquire sufficient knowledge for the due discharge of their duties as such servants. The other classes of people, such as the Vaisyas, had some trade or profession to follow, and the nature of their avocation did not require much proficiency in literature. The Súdias, as a body, were obliged to serve the three higher classes, and hence they were not required to cultivate letters. If they did not find service under the three higher classes, they adopted some mechanical art as the means of obtaining a livelihood. The Vaidyas, as medical practitioners, were obliged to cultivate letters to some extent. Under British rule the entire order of things has changed The Bráhmanas no longer find it easy to live as pensioners hanging on other classes of people. The Kshatriyas are no longer required to protect the country and the people. Manchester supplies cloth to the people, and the Setts, Bysacks and other classes of Tantuváyas are left to carry on some petty cloth trade, or work as servants in Government offices and European firms. The profession of the Vaidyas is almost gone, its place having been supplied by European medicine and surgery. The gate of learning is left open to every class of people,

* One instance in support of our assertion will suffice. Every reader of the Sanskrit language knows that the Sankhiptasára Vyákarana, a masterly treatise on Sanskrit grammar, standing next to Paniní, is the work of Rájá Jumara Nandi, a Tantuvaya Rajá of the Rádha country, some hundred years ago. The Pandits of Rádha sarcastically call it *ténté vyákarana* (the word *ténté* is derived from *Tanti*, but it is used as a somewhat contemptuous term) but they cannot dispense with it at all. It is far superior to the *mugdhabodha Vyákarana* of Bopa Deva Gosvami, which is very terse and brief. The Sankhiptásara Vyakarana is an indispensable necessity in learning the Sanskrit language in many parts of Bengal, for the reason that Pánini is not used in the country, and the Mugdhabodha Vyákarana is scarcely anything more than a mere abridgment of Sanskrit grammar.

and all are invited to enter it. The Bráhmanas and the Káyasthas gladly embrace the opportunity offered. The number of children of Bráhmanas and Káyasthas who attend English schools, far exceeds the total number of children of other classes of people ; and if a proportion be worked out of the relative number of Bráhmanas and Káyasthas, and of other classes who appear at any University examination and come off as successful candidates, it will be found not to vary much. Again, the Bráhmanas and the Káyasthas continue their studies till the highest examination is over, while other castes generally give up their academical career in a short time, and do not continue till the last. The fact explains why the Bràhmanas and the Káyasthas figure prominently in the lists of service and professions. The Mulliks (Suvarnavaniks) and the Tagores, for instance, are markedly absent from these lists. This absence does not argue that they are intellectually inferior in any respect to any Bráhmana or Káyastha ; but it proves our position, that, as rich people, they do not care much for English education or service under the Government, or for a profession. The Setts and Bysacks, who have become poorer than before, steer a middle course.

We have said before that the change wrought by English education will probably be for the ultimate good of the country. We have used the word 'probably' advisedly, because we have some misgivings as to where or how this change will end. But we hope that it may be the means of raising Bengal from the low grovelling situation to which it had come for a number of centuries. Dead as the people of Bengal politically are, they must sit at the feet of the modern nations of Europe and learn to respect themselves and to love their own country. They must not make too much of their caste-system and succumb to its influence. They must maintain the nominal divisions of caste, and must not try to subvert the established order of things, but purge off the curses that have grown up in their society. They must imitate, as far as is compatible with feelings of loyalty to the established Government of the country, the manly virtues of the European nations and shun their vices. They must remember that, though their ancestors were the pioneers of civlization in the ancient world, they are now far behind those nations in every respect. They must not criticise, in an illiberal spirit, or with feelings of disloyalty, any measure of Government, but freely point out the blunders which our rulers, as foreigners, are sometimes apt to commit in legislating for the government of the country They must cultivate the ancient language and literature of India, along with the language and literature of the rulers of the country, before they can hope to reclaim Bengal. English education, mellowed

by a knowledge of the Sanskrit language, will drive away many curses under which Bengal is groaning. Should it ultimately elevate the position of Bengal, yea, of the whole of India, England's grand mission to the East will then have been fulfilled.

THE SYSTEM OF THE VEDANTA.

BY PROF. DR. PAUL DEUSSEN.

TRANSLATED BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

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PREFACE.

THE following exposition of the Vedânta System is distinguished from earlier undertakings of the same kind* in that it seeks to take up a fixed and uniform standpoint, limiting itself to an analysis of the chief work of the Vedânta school, the *Brahmasûtras* with *Shankara's* Commentary, but within this limit taking pains to follow the system in its widest ramifications, and thus to fulfil at once the requirements of a scientific working up of the materials and also of a readable exposition for wider circles so far as this seemed possible. With this aim, much on which the Indian lays weight, had to be shortened, especially the exegetical and practical theological discussions; on the other hand much else which he presupposes familiar and axiomatic to his readers, while for us it is new and sometimes exactly the most important, could only be secured by combining together occasional and scattered utterances. Comparisons with western philosophic ideas and criticisms from my own standpoint, I have here and there permitted myself to make, but they are everywhere unmistakeably noted as such, and therefore do no violence to the objective character of the exposition. From the present plan also are excluded the numerous and interesting polemical digressions of the *Brahmasûtras*, which require and deserve separate treatment; only where they throw a new light on the system itself are they admitted, as for example was the case, in the controversy with the Sânkhyas on the intelligence of the cause of the world, with Kanâda on the evolution of space, with the Buddhists of idealistic tendencies on the reality of the outer world. On the other side, an important extension of the work grew out of the necessity of incorporating the Vedic texts, on the basis of which

* Colebrooke, on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Part IV, in the Miscellaneous Essays, II. p. 350–401 (with remarks by Cowell)
Windischmann, Sankara (Bonnæ, 1833) p 49-189
Bruining, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van dem Vedânta (Leyden, 1891), p. 23-98.
Regnaud, Le Système Védânta, in the Revue Philosophique, 1877, p. 588-599; 1878, p. 158-178, 534-550; 1879, p. 413-434.
The Literature of the Upanishads v. p. (82 ff.)

the system, and especially the first part of it, is built, partly in translations, partly in abstract, for we could not presuppose an acquaintance with them on the part of the majority of our readers, as Shankara could with his. The numbers in quotations refer entirely to the editions in the Bibliotheca Indica, *Brh.* standing for Brhadâranyaka-Upanishad, *Chhând.* for Chhândogya-Up, *Kâth* for Kâthaka-Up., *Mund.* for Mundaka-Up., *Ait.* for Aitareya-Up., *Kaush.* for Kauslûtaki-Up., *Tâitt.* for Tâittiriya-Up., *Shvet.* for Shvetâshvatara-Up. Certain further additions aim at facilitating the study of the original work, as the review of its contents and the index of the quotations in Shankara's Commentary in the Appendix; in part they are destined to help those to whom the Indian world is still foreign, to find their bearings more easily in it; to this end a short review of the Vedânta system, as well as an index of its most important terms, is added.

Regarding the religious and philosophical worth of the world-concept here exhibited, we shall not prejudice the judgment of the reader; the respect that it enjoys in India may be shown by the words of Madhasûdana-Sarasvatî (Ind. Stud. I, p. 20, 18): *idameva sarva-shâstrânâm Mûrdhanyam; Shâstra-antaram sarvam asya eva shesha-bhûtam; iti idam eva mumukshibhir âdaraniyam, shrî-shankara-bhagavat-pâda-udita-prakârena.* "This book [the *Brahmasûtras of Bâdarâ-yana*] is among all the books of teaching the chiefest; all "other books of teaching serve only to complete it; therefore "verily it is be honoured by all those who long for liberation, "and chiefly in the sense in which it is expounded by the wor-"shipful feet of the illustrious Shankara."

PAUL DEUSSEN.

BERLIN, *January* 1883.

ART. VII.—DEUSSEN'S VEDANTA.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—LITERARY.

1.—*The Name Vedânta.*

Vedânta means literally* "the end of the Veda" and indicates briefly the theological and philosophical treatises which appear as the closing chapters of the separate Brâhmanas of the Veda, and which are afterwards generally called *Upanishads*, that is, "(secret) lessons," or "secret teachings."* Then the name Vedânta in the sense of "Final Aim of the Veda" is applied to the theological and philosophical system founded on the Upanishads, which may fitly be pointed to as the Dogmatics of Brahmanism, and the exposition of which is to occupy us here. In order not to mix things historically different, we base this exposition exclusively on the masterpiece of the Vedânta School, the *Shârîrak-Mîmânsâ-sûtras* of Bâdarâyana together with Shankara's Commentary thereon. As a separation in time of these two authors seems not yet practicable, we consider their work as

* Vedânta can originally mean either 1 "End of the Veda," or 2. "Dogmas of the Veda" (cf. *Siddhânta*, râddhânta), or 3. "Final Aim of the Veda" Max Müller declares himself in favour of the latter view (Upanishads I, p. LXXXVI N.); yet this presupposes an appreciation of Dogma at the expense of Ritual which is difficult to admit for the time when the word arose (we find it already rigidly fixed in Tâ p. 8:7, 2=Mund. 3, 2, 6=Kaiv. 3 and Shvet 6,22) Hence the above interpretation (for which we must of course not rely on Tâ p. 820,1) recommends itself as the simplest and most natural. The remarkable circumstance that the etymological meaning of both Vedânta and Upanishad cannot be demonstrated, may be explained, if we assume that both were originally popular terms in the language of the pupils, and received a definite sense first when they were transferred thence to the language of the higher style. After the Brahmachâris had learnt the formulas of prayer (mantra) necessary for his future calling, and the manner of their application in the cult (*bandhu, brâhmanam*), at the conclusion of the course (Ind. Stud. X, 128 cf. Chând. 4, 10-15;—a chapter like Brh. 6 4 was also possible only at the end of the period of study) the Guru might communicate to him certain things easy to misinterpret, and therefore secret, concerning the metaphysical power of the prayer (*brahman*) which supported and maintained the gods, and the resulting superiority of the own self of the knower (*âtman*) over all the powers of natural, whence in due course the Brahmavidyâ, Atmavidyâ arose, which the pupils might joyfully greet and recognise as the *Vedânta*, that is, as "the end of the studies," and of the (not seldom [Mahâbhârata I, 7415] severe) period of study. These communications to the Antevâsin took place in a confidential lesson, that is (in contrast with *Parishad samsad*), in an *Upanishad*, an expression which then received the meanings of "secret sense, secret name secret teachings" also, as our word "Collegium" has been transferred from the idea of "Assembly" to that of an "object of study" which can be "read" or "heard."

a single piece for the purposes of systematic exposition, and quote it in the sequel either with three numbers according to *adhyâya*, *pâda* and *sûtra*, or with two numbers according to page and line in the edition of Roer and Râma Nârâyana Vidyâratna in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1863.*

To characterise the position of this work and its two authors in Sanskrit Literature, it may be well to recall briefly certain familiar facts.†

2. Somewhat Concerning the Veda.

a. Orientation.

The great and not yet quite fully surveyed complex of writings which bears the name of *Veda*, that is, "theological knowledge," and whose extent exceeds that of the Bible more than six times, falls briefly into four divisions, the *Rgveda*, *Sâmaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*; in each of these four Vedas we have to distinguish between three different forms of writings, according to content, form of presentation and age: 1. The *Samhitâ*, 2. The *Brâhmana*, 3. The *Sutra*; lastly the greater part of these twelve divisions exist in different, more or less divergent editions, according to the schools for whose study they served, and these are commonly spoken of as the *Shâkhâs*, that is, "the branches" of the tree of the Veda.

For an understanding of this complex relation, it will be useful to distinguish between the form in which the Veda at present exists, and the historical development through which it has grown to this form.

b. The Literary Constitution of the Veda.

Briefly the four Vedas, in the form in which they come to us, are nothing else than the Manual of the Brahmanical Priests (*Rtvij*), bringing ready to his hand the material of hymns and sentences necessary for the sacrificial cult, as well as teaching him their right use.

* Unfortunately no translation of this work yet exists, since neither the aphorisms of the Vedânta by Ballantyne (Mirzapore, 1851) nor the translation by Banerjea (Calcutta, 1870), nor that in the *Shad darshana chintanikâ* (Bombay, since 1877) have up to the present got beyond the beginning. A Dutch rendering by A. Bruining in the "Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van N. Indie" only goes as far as the end of the first Adhyâya.

† Cf the following: Colebrooke. On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus, As Res., VIII, 369–476; On the Philosophy of the Hindus, Transact. of R. As. Soc., I, 19-43. 92-118. 439-461. II, 1-39. I, 549-579 (in the Misc. Ess., the II. 8 fg., 239 fg.) A. Weber, Indische Literatur-geschichte, 1876, 5. 8 fg., 249 fg., where the literature up to the most recent times (1878) is to be found brought together in the notes and supplements; Max Müller, A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 1860.

To a complete sacrificial service belong four chief priests, differing according to the extent of their studies and offices: 1. The Hotar, who recites the verses (rch.) of the hymns, thereby to invite the gods to enjoy the Soma or other offering. 2. The Udgâtar, who accompanies the preparation and offering of the Soma with his chants (*Sâman*). 3. The Adhvarya, who performs the sacred rite while he mutters the corresponding verses and sentences (*yajus*). 4. The Brahmán, whose duty it is to superintend and direct the whole. The canonical book for the Hotar is the Rgveda (although the Rgveda has a farther reaching import, not merely ritual but also literary), for the Udgâtar the Sâmaveda, for the Adhvarya the Yajurveda, while on the other hand the Atharveda has properly nothing to do with the Brahmán, who must know all three Vedas, * being connected with him only for appearance sake, in order to help its elevation to the dignity of a fourth Veda, an honour so long denied to it †

Its practical application occurs on the one side in the household worship (birth, marriage, disposal of the dead, sickness, blessing of the harvest, incantations over cattle, and the like), on the other side in certain ceremonies of State (coronations, blessing armies, cursing enemies and the like); in this latter aspect it is the Veda of the Kshattriya caste, as the three others are of the Brahmans,‡ and may have stood in a similar relation to the *Purohita* (the prince's family priest) as the others to the *Rtvij* (cf Yâjñavalkya 1,312).

Each of the priests mentioned needed for his duties a collection of formulas of prayer *(mantra)* and also instructions for their right liturgical and ritual application *(Brâhmana)*. With exception of the Black Yajur Veda, we find these two elements more or less sharply separated, and divided into two distinct parts.

I. The *Samhitâ* of each Veda is, as the name indicates, a collection of the mantras belonging to it, whether verses *(rch.)*, or chants *(Sâman)*, or sacrificial sentences *(Yajus)*. Thus the Rgveda-Samhitâ consists of 1,017 hymns in 10,580 verses,

* Apastamba-shrâuta-sûtra 24,16. 19: *rgvedena hotâ karoti, sâmavedena udgâtâ, yajurvedena adhvaryah, sarvair brâhmâ.*—Madhusûdana (Ind. Stud I, 16, 8): *tatra hâutra-prayoga rgvedena, âdhvaryava-prayogo yajurvedena, âudgâtra prayogah sâmavedna. brâhma yâjamâna-prayogan tu atra eva antarbhûtân; atharvavedas tu yajna anupayuktah, shânti pâushtika abhichâra âdi-karma-pratipâdakatvena âtyanta-vilaksh ana'eva.*

† Gopatha-Brâhmanam I, 2,24. *rgvidam eva hotâram vrnîshva, yajurvidam adhvaryum, sâmavidam udgâtâram, atharvângirovidam brahmânam*—Atharvaparishishtam I (Ind Stud. I 296, 28) *rakshânsi rakshati brahmâ, brahmâ tasmâd atharvavit*—Cf. Vishnupurâna III, 4 (p. 276, Wilson).—An indirect recognition of the fourth Veda by Shankara is found on p. 239, 2.

‡ In this meaning it is probably to be taken, when the Brh. 5, 13 (Shatap. Br. 14, 8, 14) after *uktham, yajus*, and *sâman*, mentions *kshatram* as fourth.

from which the Hotar must bring together the necessary hymn of praise (*Shastram*) for each individual purpose; the Sâmaveda-Samhitâ contains a selection of 1,549 (or with repetitions 1,810) verses, either taken from the Rgveda-Samhitâ, or from the material underlying it, as many as 78 of which are found together in the Rgveda, and are further modulated in various ways for the purposes of the chants (*Sâman*); the Samhitâ of the White Yajur-veda contains partly sacrificial sentences (*Yajus*) in prose, partly verses, the latter being also for the most part taken from the material of the Rgveda; whereas the Atharvaveda-Samhitâ consists of 760 hymns, of which only something like a sixth are common to it and the Rgveda, while the rest occupy an independent, and in many aspects quite peculiar position in the total of Vedic mantra literature, whereof later. Each of these four Samhitâs is preserved in different recensions, according to the *Shâkhâs*, or schools, in which they were studied, though they do not differ very materially from each other. It is otherwise, as will be seen immediately, with the other division of Vedic literature.

II. The *Brâhmana*, whose immediate destination in general is to teach the practical use of the materials contained in the Samhitâ, in its often very wide scope goes far beyond this direct object, and for the most part draws within its grasp a material which (with Madhusûdana) we can bring under the three categories of *vidhi*, *arthavâda* and *Vedânta*. As *vidhi* (that is precept) the Brâhmana prescribes the ceremonies, discusses their origin, as well as the means of their accomplishment, and finally describes the course of the sacred rite itself. (2) Under the name *Arthavâda* (that is, explanation) are included manifold explanations, to support the substance of the precepts by exegesis, polemics, mythology, dogma and the like. (3) Here the discussions rise to thoughts of a philosophic character, which are called *Vedânta* (that is, Veda-end, because they come, for the most part, at the end of the Brâhmanas. They are the essential contents of the supplements to the Brâhmanas, which are called *Aranyakas*, and whose original destination, not always strictly adhered to, seems to have been the life in the forest (*Aranya*), which was enjoined on the Brahmans in old age, where they served as a substitute for the greatly contracted, when not entirely abandoned, system of worship. However this may be, the fact is, that we find abundantly in them a wonderful spiritualising of the sacrificial cult: in the place of the practical performance of the ceremonies comes meditation on them, and along with it a symbolical explanation, which then leads on to the loftiest

thoughts.* The most important parts of these Aranyakas were later extracted from them under the name of Upanishad, and were brought together from the different Vedas into a single whole; originally, however, as we must admit, each Vedic school had its separate ritual and also a more or less rich dogmatic text-book, and if there really existed, as the Muktikâ-Upanishad (Ind. St. III, 324) states, 21+1,000+109 +50 = 1,180 Shâkhâs, there must also, as is there concluded, have been 1,180 Upanishads.. In reality, however, the matter is far simpler. since the number of the Shâkhâs which we actually know is limited to a very few for each Veda. for whose text-books the common ritual and dogmatic material, in various arrangements, treatments and presentments served. Thus for the Rgveda we are acquainted with only two Shâkhâs, that of the *Aitareyins* and that of the *Kauslîtakins* each of which possesses one *Brâhmana* and one *Aranyaka*, the last of which contains the Upanishad of the school.—For the Sâmaveda, in the division of Brâhmana we know up to the present only one Shâkhâ accurately and completely, that of the *Tândins*, to which the following writings are referred: (*a*) the *Pancha-vinsha-Brâhmana*; (*b*) the *Shad-vinsha-Brâhmana*, whose name already informs us that it is an addition to the former; (*c*) the *Chhândogya-Brâhmana*, with which we are not yet completely acquainted, must also be referred to the school of the Tândins, since Shankara, p. 892, 9, quotes under this name a passage which,

*As example we may cite the opening of the Brhad-âranyaka (intended for the Adhvarya) where the sacrificial horse is treated of:

"Om! Dawn verily is the head of the sacrificial horse, the sun its eyes, the "wind its breath, its throat the universal fire; the year is the sacrificial horse's "body; the heaven is its back, the interspace its body, the earth is the footstool "of its feet (Shankara). The space points are its loins, the points between its "ribs the seasons its limbs, its months and half-months its joints, day and night its feet, the stars its bones, the clouds its flesh. The fodder that it digests the sands of the desert, the rivers its entrails, its liver and lungs the mountains, 'plants and trees its hair; the rising sun is its foreparts, the setting sun its hind-"parts. What it yawns, that is lightning, what it neighs is thunder, what it waters, rain; its voice is speech. Day verily arose after the horse as the sacrificial vessel that stands before it; its hollow part is in the eastern ocean; night arose "after it as the sacrificial vessel that stands behind it; its hollow part is in the "western ocean; these two vessels arose to enclose the horse. As race-horse it "bore the gods, as war-horse the Gandharvas, as steed the demons, as horse, "mankind. The ocean is its companion, its hollow part is the ocean."

Here the place of the sacrificial horse is taken by the world, probably already with the afterthought that the ascetic should give up the world (cf Brh. 3, 5, 1, 4, 4, 22) as the father of the horse gave up the actual sacrificial gifts. In the same way the Chhândogya-Upanishad (1, 1), which is intended for the Udgâtar, teaches that the syllable "*Om*," which is a symbol of Brahma (*paramâtma-pratika*) is to be recognised and honoured as the true *udgîtha*, and in the Aitareya âranyaka, the *uktha* (hymn) belonging to the Hotar is the subject of similar explanations.—Cf. Brahmasûtra 3, 3, 55-56, where it is stated that symbolical conceptions of this kind were valid not only in the Shâkhâ in which they arose, but universally.

according to Râjendralâla Mitra (The Chhândogya-Up., Introduction, p. 17 N.) forms the beginning of the Chhândogya-Brâhmana ; (*d*) lastly Shankara repeatedly cites the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* as belonging to the Tândins ; thus Chhând., 3, 16 (quoted p. 889, 10. 890, 8.) 8, 13, 1. p. 899, 3. 907, 7. 908, 5.) 6, 8, 7 (p. 923, 8).—A second independent book of ritual for the Sâmaveda is possibly the *Talavakâra-Brâhmana* of the Jâiminîya-shâkhâ (Cf. Shankara's remarks on the Kena-Up., p. 28, and Burnell's Müller, Upanishads I, p. XC), according to Burnell in five Adhyâyas, the last but one of which contains the well-known short *Kena-Upanishad* (quoted p. 70, 14.10. 163 3, 808, 10), while the last consists of the *Arsheya-Brâhmana* (quoted p. 301, 8). The four remaining Brâhmanas of the Sâmaveda (*Sâmavidhâna, Vansha Devatâdhyâya Samhito-panishad*) can make no claim to the name of independent text-books of schools.—In the Yajurveda we have to distinguish between two forms, the black (that is, unarranged) and the white (that is, arranged) Yajurveda The former contains the Brâhmana-like material mingled with the Mantra already in the Samhitâ ; in this form the Yajurveda has been transmitted to us by the schools of the *Tâittirîyakas* (whose Brâhmana and Aranyaka are simply continuations of the Samhitâ), the *Kathas* and the *Maitrâyanîyas*. The Tâittirîya-âranyaka contains at the end two Upanishads, the *Tâittirîya* (Books VII, VIII, IX) and the *Nârâyanîya-Upanishad* (Book X). To the school of the Kathas belong the *Kâthaka-Upanishad*, which now exists only in one Atharva recension, while in Shankara's time it seems to have still formed a whole together with the other texts of the Kathas, whereof later, under the name of *Maitri-Upanishad*, we have received a late product of very apocryphal character ; the name of a fourth Shâkhâ of the black Yajurveda, the *Shvetâshvataras*, is borne by an Upanishad of secondary origin, composed in metrical form, which is nevertheless often quoted by Shankara as the "*Shvetâshvatarânâm mantropanishad*" (p. 110, 5, cf. 416, 1. 920, 4) and apparently also already by Bâdarâyana 1, 1, 11. 1. 4, 8 2, 3, 22). In contrast with the Shâkhâs of the black Yajurveda, the *Vâjasaneyins*, the chief school of the white Yajurveda, have separated Mantras from Brâhmanas after the fashion of the other Vedas ; the former are collected in the Vâjasaneyi-Samhita ; the latter form the contents of the *Shatapatha-Brâhmanam*, the last part of which (B. XIV) contains the longest and most beautiful of all the Upanishads, the *Brhad-âranyaka*. A closely connected piece which (though only on account of its metrical form) is

* Shankara nowhere quotes it (*Maitreyî-Brâhmanam*, p. 385, 8. 1006,5 means the section of Bih. 2 4=4, 5) ; also the term *Sushumnâ* (Maitr. 6, 21) does not yet occur in the Commentary to the Brahmasûtras.

attached to the Vâjasaneyi-Samhitâ as Book XL, is called, from its first word, the *Ishâ-Upanishad*. In the Canon of Anquetil Duperron four other portions of the same Samhitâ, *Shatarudriyam* (B. XVI), *Purushasûktam* (XXXI), *Tadeva* (XXXII,) and *Shivasamkalpa* (XXXIV, beginning) are included as Upanshads.—Besides the Vajasaneyins, Shankara thirteen times quotes another school of the white Yajurveda, the *Jâbâlas*; nine of these quotations (p. 222,8 223, 1. 417,11. 988,8=991,4. 999,6. 1000, 1. 3. 1025,8) are found with considerable variants in the *Jâbâla-Upanishad*, at the present day included in the Atharva-Upanishads, four others (924, 7=1059,1. 931, 4=933,4), on the other hand, are not, so that, as it seems, Shankara had before him a more complete work of this school. Whether Bâdarâyana quotes it also (1, 2, 32 4, 1, 3) remains uncertain.*—To the Atharvaveda belongs the *Gopatha-Brâhmana*, a work whose character is preponderatingly that of a compilation, and without close reference to the Atharva-Samhitâ. Shankara does not quote from it at all; more the circumstance that at 3, 3, 24, p 889 ff., he does not take the Gopatha-Br a II, 5, 4 into consideration, makes it probable that he did not know or did not recognise this work. Finally in the Atharvaveda, which probably may not have been protected in the same degree as the other Vedas by competent supervision against later incursive elements, there have been included a long series of mostly short Upanishads, many of which have a quite apocryphal character, and are nothing but the best books of later Indian sects. For the Vedânta two of the Atharvan Upanishads are of greater importance, the *Mundaka* and *Prashna-Upanishad*, both of which are largely quoted by Bâdarâyana and Shankara, while it is remarkable that we find no certain quotation from the *Mândûkya-Upanishad*, though such a large use is made of it in the Vedânta-Sara.

III. A third and last stage of Vedic literature is formed by the Sûtras likewise divided according to Vedas and Shâkhâs (whose relations seem, however, considerably dislocated); resting on the Brâhmanas, they gather together their contents, shortening, systematising and completing them for the purposes of practical use; this they do in the most compendious form, in that lapidary style, for the most part entirely unintelligible without commentaries, to which also the grammatical, and, as we shall presently see, the philosophical literature of India has been refined. The Vedic Sûtras comprehend three kinds: (1) the *Shrâuta-sûtras*, which regulate the public wor-

* Shankara takes 1, 2. 32 as Jâbâlopanishad 2. p. 439. and 4, 1, 3 as a text of this school unknown to us; but according to the *Vedânta Sûtra-shâiva-bhâshyam* (Pandit, June 1872, p. 19) 1, 2, 32, and according to the *Vedânta-Kaustubha-prabhâ* (Pandit, August 1874, p. 55), 4, 1, 3, do not refer to the Jâbâlas.

ship, (2) the *Grhya-sûtras*, which regulate domestic usages (at birth, marriage, disposal of the dead, and (3) the *Dharma-sûtras*, in which the duties of the castes and Ashramas are laid down, and from which the later law-books of Manu and the like were produced Just as the Shrâuta-sûtras rest on the *Shruti* (that is, divine revelation) the other two classes rest on the *Smrti* (that is, tradition) and *Achâra* (that is, usage) ; more will be said later on about the meanings of these expressions in the terminology of the Vedânta.

(C) Of the Genesis of the Veda.

The oldest monument in this extensive literary cycle (and also probably the oldest literary monument of mankind) are the Hymns of the Rgveda, since, in their chief constituents, they go back to a time when the Indians did not yet dwell in the Ganges valley, but in the river districts of the Indus, as yet knowing no castes, no privileged worship, no Brahmanical polity and economy of life, but united in small tribes, *vish*, under chiefly hereditary kings, tilling their fields, pasturing their herds, waging war on each other, and enjoying a simple, fresh existence close to nature. Of all these relations the Hymns of the Rgveda exhibit a vivid picture,* but especially we can follow in them the genesis of the nature-religion of ancient India throughout, in part even from the moment when the Gods crystallise out of the phenomena of nature under the hand of the poet, to the time when belief in them, for the thinking part of the nation, begins to fade,† and finds its substitute in the first stirrings of philosophical speculation, this especially in the later hymns, for the most part found in the last Mandala, many of which, as for instance the Hymn of Purusha, Rgv. 10, 90 (VS. 31. AS. 19, 6 ; TA. 3, 12), already presuppose the immigration into the Ganges valley, together with the subsequent development of the caste system and the Brahmanical hierarchy. And after the Indians, through many wars and commotions, whose poetical reflex is preserved for us in the Mahâbhârata, had won for themselves a fixed dwelling-place in the paradise-like plain of the Ganges, between the Himâlaya and Vindhya, their manner of life, through altered outward relations, took a form really

* On this cf. the mutually complementary works : *Zimmer*, Altindisches Leben, Berlin, 1879 ; Ludwig, Die Mantra-Litteratur und das alte Indien (in the third volume of Ludwig's Rigveda), Prague, 1878 ; Kaegi Der Rigveda, Leipzig, 1881.

† There are hymns in the Rgveda which treat its religion with open scorn. Among others (*e.g.* Rgv. 7, 103), the song Rgveda 9 112, which not without humour develops the thought that, like mankind, the God Indra also, as an egotist, follows after his own profit ; this is very effectively done by the ever recurring borrowed refrain, "*indrâya indo parisrava*," parodying, as it seems, a religious hymn. Grassmann has, it is true, struck out this refrain, in which the point of the whole lies. To a similar motive the "Liturgy of the Dogs" (*shâuva udgîtha* Chhând. 1, 12, seems indebted for its origin.

different from its earlier one ; an insurmountable barrier was immediately erected between the *Shûdras*, the repressed population of the aborigines, and the immigrant Aryans ; then further over the *Vaishyas*, that is, the collective mass of Aryan tribes were raised on the one side, as possessors of material might, the *Kshattriyas*, the warrior-nobility with the kings at their head, and on the other side the real or pretended descendants of the old Vedic poet-families, who called themselves *Brâhmanas* (Prayers, priests), and were able to mould the hereditary possessions of the Vedic hymns in their families, and the worship bound up with them, more and more into a religious monopoly, as they did also with the national education. It is true that, later, as before, all members of the three upper castes, so far as they were *Dvijas* ("twice-born, through the sacrament of the *Upanayanam*, the admission into the Bhramanical church, as if reborn) had to offer, and in part also to perform, sacrifices, but only the Brahmans could eat the sacrificial food, drink the Soma, and receive the sacrificial gift without which the sacrifice was not efficacious; they only could be *Rtvijs* (sacrificial priests for another for hire) and *Purohitas* (firmly established family priests of the princes). Of these caste privileges the Brahmans were able to make with time a more and more extended use. In measure as, through consolidation of their external relations, the prosperity of the princes and the people grew, the external pageantry of worship increased; the number of the participating priests augmented, the names Brahman, Hotar, Adhvarya, Udgâtar, which we see emerging in the Rgveda at first sporadically and without strict distinction, were bound up into a system, and beside each of these *Rtvijs* at a great sacrifice were gathered a series of assistants. But the more complex the system of worship became, the more imperatively it demanded a special regulation, and this practical need gave the measure for the arrangement of the Vedic literature,—if indeed this word can be employed for a condition of * things in which no written record can as yet be ever thought of. Little by little, a firm tradition grew up about the verses and sentences with which the Adhvarya had to accompany his manipulations (*Yajurveda*), as about the songs which the Udgâtar chanted at the sacred operations (*Sahmaveda*), and lastly it was no longer enough for the Hotar to know

* Even the Upanishads seem originally to have been handed down only orally. On the one side we find passages in them which only become intelligible by an accompanying gesture (*e g*, Brh. 1, 4, 6 : *atha iti abhyamanthat* ; 2. 2, 4 : *iman eva* [the ears] *Gâutama-Bharadvâjâu ayam eva Gautamo, 'yam Bharadvâjh* and so on) ; on the other side, *e g*, Chhând. 8, 3, 5 *satyam* is treated as a trisyllable, Brh. 5, 14, 1, *bhûmir antariksham dyauh* and 5, 14, 3 *prâno pâno vyânah* are treated as eight syllables.—For the rest, the question of a written record in India has not the importance which we, from our own circumstances, are inclined to give it.

the songs hereditary in his own family; the separate collections of hymns were gathered into circles (*mandala*), the circles into a single whole (*Rgveda*), which then for a certain further period still remained open for additional new productions. Not all the old hymns were admitted into this canon; many had to be excluded, because their contents were thought to be offensive or otherwise unsuited; others because, sprung from the people, they were not recommended by the authority of some famous bardic family. With them were associated ever new flowers which the old stem of Vedic lyrics bore in the Brâhmana Period, and which bore clear testimony to the altered consciousness of the time. From these materials, which had to be propagated for a long time outside the schools in the mouths of the people (to which fact their varied and especially metrical negligence bears testimony), there came into being in course of time a fourth collection (*Atharva veda*), which had to struggle long before gaining a recognition which always remained conditional.

Meanwhile the other older collection had become the basis of a certain course of study, which with time gained a constantly more strictly regulated form. Originally it was the father who initiated his son in the sacred lore handed down by the family, as best he could (Brh. 6, 2, 4, Chhând. 5, 3, 5); soon, through the growing difficulty of understanding the old texts, the ever more fully developed form of the ritual, the perpetually extending circle of studies, this became too difficult for him; it became necessary to look for the most approved authorities for each of the theories (*vidyâ*) that had to be learned, travelling scholars (*charaka*) went further afield (Brh. 3, 3, 1), celebrated wandering teachers moved from place to place (Kâush. 4, 1), and to many teachers the pupils streamed, "like the waters to the deep" (Tâitt. 1, 4, 3). Later custom demanded that every Arya should spend a series of years (according to Apast dharmasûtra 1, 1, 2, 16 at least twelve) in the house of a teacher, the Brâhmanas, to prepare themselves for their future calling, the Kshattriyas and Vâishyas, to receive the influences which were to mould their later thought and life. We must believe (even if we have no quotation to hand to prove it) that the imparting of this instruction became with time the exclusive privilege of the Brahmans: only thus can be explained the unparalleled influence over the life of the Indian peoples which the Brahmans were able to win and to maintain. As the outward apparel of the scholars of the different castes differed, so also probably did their instruction. As payment for it, the scholars performed the household and field labour of the teacher; they tended the sacred fire (Chhând. 4, 10, 1), herded the teacher's cattle

(Chhând. 4, 4, 5), collected the customary gifts for him in the village and brought him gifts at the conclusion of the course. In the time left free by these manifold obligations (*guroh Karma-atisheshena*, Chhând. 8, 15). the Veda was studied On the whole, it was less a time of study than a time of discipline, as the name *Ashrama* implies, understanding by discipline obedience to the teacher (of which exorbitant examples are handed down) and strenuous self-abnegating activity. It was part of the tendency of Brahmanism to mould the whole life to such an *Ashrama*. Not all, after the termination of the time of study, set themselves to found a family: many remained in the teacher's house to the end of their lives (*naishtika*); others betook themselves to the forest to inflict degradations and mortifications on themselves; yet others disdained even this form of regulated existence, and cast away every thing (*samnyâsin*), to roam about (*pariorâjaka*) as beggars (*bhikshu*). The different kinds of "*Ashrama*," or "religious mortifications," were further bound together in a whole, in which what appears as an abrupt command in St. Matthew's Gospel XIX, 21, seems to have been expanded into a vast system embracing the whole of life. Accordingly the life of every Brâhmana, and even the life of every Dvija,* was to be divided into four stages, or *Ashramas;* he was (1), as *Brahmachârin*, to dwell in the house of a teacher, then 2), as *grhastha*, to fulfil the duty of founding a family, then (3) to leave it in old age, as a *Vânaprastha* (forest hermit), to give himself up more and more to increasing mortifications, and lastly (4), towards the end of his life, as a *Samnyasin* (*Bhikshu, Parivrâjaka*) to wander free from all earthly ties and live on alms.—We do not know how far the actuality corresponded to these ideal claims.

While Brahmanical teaching and conduct of life were surrounding the existence of the Indian peoples in ever denser toils, we see ripening on the branch of Brahmanism itself a world concept which, though outwardly bound up with it, was inwardly opposed to it in its very basis.—Already in the Rgveda strong movements of a certain philosophical tendency make themselves manifest. We perceive a special seeking and asking after the Unity which finally lies at the basis of all diversity; we see how many attempts were made to solve the riddle of creation; through the motley changes of the world of appearances, through the ever more richly developed variety of the Vedic pantheon, to lay hold of the one formless principle of all that has form,—until at last the soul finds and lays hold

* A limitation to the Brâhmanas does not seem to follow with certainty from Manu VI, cf. V, 38, 70, 97 *Brâhmana*, v, 29, 32, 93 *vipra*; on the other hand v 2, *grhasthas ta*, and so on; v. 40, 85, 91, 94 *dvija*.

of unity where alone unity is to be found—in the soul itself. Here, in the mysterious depths of his own heart, the seeker, raised above his own individuality by the fervour of aspiration (*Brâhman*) discovered a power which he felt transcended all the other powers of creation, a godlike might which, as he felt, dwells within all earthly and celestial beings as inner ruling principle (*antaryâmin*) on which all worlds and all gods rest, through fear of which fire burns, the sun shines, the storm, the wind and death perform their work (*Kâth* 6, 3), and without which not a straw can be burnèd by Agni, or taken up by Vâyu (Kena 3, 19, 23). The poetic formative power which had clothed Agni, Indra, and Vâyu with personality, was the same by which this power of fervour, "enfolding itself in lower limitation on all sides, growing with might as the gladdener of the great [gods], expanding itself outward as god to the gods, and embracing all this universe," was first in very transparent personification as *Brhaspati*, *Brahmanaspati*, but afterwards more truly, boldly, philosophically as *Brâhman* (aspiration), as *Atman* (self), raised above all the gods, the power through which they and the whole world besides had sprung forth in endlessly varied play of phantasy.—We may hope that, in the wealth of texts preserved in the Rgveda, Atharvaveda, and Brâhmanas, we may be able to trace step by step how the sparks of philosophic light struck in the Rgveda shine out brighter and brighter until, at last, in the Upanishads, they burst out in that bright flame which is able to lighten and warm us to-day.

Numberless indications point us to the truth that the real guardians of these thoughts were originally not the priestly caste, absorbed in their ceremonial, but rather the caste of the Kshattriyas. Again and again, in the Upanishads, we meet with a condition of things where the Brahman prays the Kshattriya for instruction which the latter, after numberless representations of the unseemliness of such a proceeding, imparts to him (cf. Brh. 2, 1. Kâush. 4, 1. Brh. 6, 2. Chhând. 5, 3. Chhând. 5, 11. Kâush. 1, 1).—However this may be, the Brahmans appropriated this new teaching of Brâhman and its identity with the Self, and attached it, as well as might be, to their own system of justification by works, in a way which we shall become further acquainted with in the sequel. Both systems; the ritual and the philosophic, were propagated in the Vedic school, became inside and outside the school (at public festivals, at the courts of kings and so forth) the subject of keen debate and a not seldom vehement polemic; both suffered manifold transformations and extensions in these contests and mutual accommodations, until at last, as the precipitate of this rich spiritual life, in the different schools of the

Brâhmanas together with the *Upanishads*, in which they issue, in the form in which we now possess them, they took shape and finally (probably for the first time, after their practical meaning had already long been transferred to the Sûtras) were recorded in writing. It is to be hoped that with time it will be possible to reconstruct from them, even if not in every detail, the course of development which found its conclusion in them.

We have already seen how to the older Upanishads, which are the philosophic text-books of the different Shâkhâs, were added a long series of younger products of the same name, in which the further extension of religious concepts, and, hand in hand with it, the development of a peculiar striving to accomplish the union with the all-spirit in this life already, through a certain practical process (called *Yoga*), may be traced down to the time of the Indian sects, and which, as it seems, are quite externally connected with the Atharvaveda.

3.—The Philosophical System.

Parallel with this extension of Vedic learning arose, side by side, already early in India, from the germs contained in the Brâhmanas and older Upanishads, a whole series of philosophic systems, which stand in very varied, sometimes convergent, sometimes hostile, relations to the Vedas and to each other, and in which we can trace every shade of philosophical concept of the world, from the crass and cynical materialism of the Chârâkas up to the orthodox faith in the letter of the Vedas. Six among them were able to obtain the authority of orthodoxy, that is, a harmony between their teachings and the Vedic faith, or at least an appearance of it; the others, and among them Buddhism, were held to be heterodox and heretical. The six orthodox systems (a name to which, in its full sense, only the two Mîmânsâs can lay claim) are as follows:—

1. The Sânkhya of Kapila, serving, as is believed, as the basis of Buddhism, a highly spiritual theory of the unfolding of the world to the end of self-knowledge and thence resulting liberation, which, however, adheres to an irreconcileable dualism between the unfolding root material (*prakrti, prâdhana*) and an original plurality of individual spirits (*purusha*).

2. The Yoga of Patañjali, which, interpreting the Sânkhya system theistically, undertakes to point out the way of attaining a union with god, treating it in four parts, 1. on contemplation (*samâdhi*), 2. on the means of attaining it (*sâdhanam*), 3. on the mastery over nature thereby gained (*vibhûti*), 4. on the condition of the absolute (*kaivalyam**);

* The relation of this teaching to the Yoga-Upanishads has yet to be investigated; in the Samkshepa, Shankara-Jaya 1, 21, 27 (Gildemeister, Anthologia 3, p. 88) are distinguished three parts of the Veda, the *Karma Kânda, Jñana-Kânda*, and *Yoga-Kânda*, to which the three systems of *Jaimini, Bâdarayana* and *Patañjali* refer; the latter appears as an incarnation of *Shesha* (thus completing Cowell's remark on Colebrooke M. E. 3, p. 247, N. 2).

3. The Nyâya of Gotama, a system of logic, which, however, draws within its reach all the subjects of Indian thought and treats of them under its sixteen categories (*pramânam* proof, *prameyam* what is to be proved, *samshaya* doubt, and so on).

4. The Vaisheshika of Kanâda, generally (*e.g.*, in the Bhâshâparichchheda, in the Tarkabhâshâ) woven together with the Nyaya into a single whole, which teaches the growth of the world from atoms (*paramânu*) and undertakes a classification of existence, according to natural science, under the six categories of substance, quality, action, identity, difference, and inherence (*dravya, guna, karma, sâmânya, vishesha, samavâya*).

The gradual growth and consolidation of this and other systems may have instigated the adherents of the Veda also, on their side, to a scientific, systematic investigation (*mîmânsâ*) into the contents of the Veda, whence arose

5. The *Karma-mîmânsâ, Purva-mîmânsâ*, or, as it is usually called, simply Mîmânsâ teaching of Jâimini, as a system of worship through works, which investigates the duties (*dharma*) enjoined by the Veda, besides the rewards (*phala*) attached thereto, and

6. The *Shârîraka-mîmânsâ, Uttara-mîmânsâ*, or, as it is mostly called from its source, Vedânta teaching of Bâdarâyana, which attaches the contents of the Upanishads to a theological and philosophical system.

The two Mîmânsâs may have arisen together, since Jâimini and Bâdarayâna mutually quote each other, often agreeing, often disputing; the two systems complete each other, in that together they exhibit the totality of Vedic theology (since in particular the Vedânta holds fast throughout to the system of rewards of the Karma-mîmânsâ (cf. 2, 3, 42, 3, 1, 25, 3, 2, 9 and p. 1076, 13), and the two in thorough, radical antithesis to each other, having its basis in the Veda itself For the Veda falls (as Shankara ad Brh. p. 4 ff shows), according to the concept of the Vedânta, into two parts, which show a far-reaching analogy with the Old and New Testaments, a part of works (*Karma-kânda*), which includes the Mantras and Brâhmanas in general, and a part of wisdom (*Jñâna-kânda.*), which includes the Upanishads and what belongs to them (*e g.*, Agnirahasyam, Shatap. Br. X, for which compare 3, 3, 44-52, p. 943-952). The former enjoins works, such as sacrifices and the like ceremonies, while, like the Old Testament, it promises rewards and threatens punishments, only that, for the most part, by relegating these to the other world, it evades the conflict with experience; the investigation of this relation, of the religious works and the advantage based on them, which enters as a "new moment" (*apûrvam*) into the complex of deeds necessitating a repayment in the other world, forms the actual

contents of Jâimini's Karma-mîmânsâ ; it precedes the Vedântâ not so much in time as in order, and is largely quoted by Shankara in his Commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras as "the first part," "the first book of the teaching" (*e. g.*, p. 848,6. 897, 1. 919, 9. 944, 4. 951, 3. 1011, 12). Further, as we shall see (Chap. IV, 3), a knowledge of it is not necessary for the study of the Vedânta, which bases itself entirely on the "part of wisdom" of the Vedas, that is, on the Upanishads. The work of Bâdarâyana stands to the Upanishads in the same relation as the Christian Dogmatics to the New Testament : it investigates their teaching about God, the world, the soul, in its conditions of wandering and of liberation. removes their apparent contradictions, binds them systematically together, and is especially concerned with defending them against the attacks of opponents. As such appear not only the heterodox philosophers, the Buddhists (whose teachings *2, 2,* 18-32 in their various forms are examined, and entirely rejected as an outcome of hatred toward the human, race p. 581, *2*), the Jâinas, (*2, 2,* 33-36), the Pâshupatas (*2, 2,* 37-41) and the Pancharâtras (*2, 2,* 42-45), but also adherents of the other orthodox systems, as Bâdarâyana, *2,* 1, 11, declares himself fundamentally against any possibility of discovering the truth on the path of reflection (tarka). This will be further treated in Chap. V. 2.—Towards deciding Bâdarâyana's time, it is important to note how he treats the four non-Vedic systems The Nyâya is not mentioned by Bâdarâyana at all, and only twice casually quoted (p.67,6. 594, 1), yet with recognition, by Shankara, perhaps because it lent no support to his polemics ; the Yoga appears, as far as we know (1,1, 19 the word has another meaning), with the exception of 4. *2, 21* (where, however "Yoginah" refers directly to Bhag. g. 8, 23) only at *2,* 1, 3, where it is briefly dismissed with the remark, that what has been said against the Sânkhya applies to it also ; the Vâisheshika-teaching is confuted at *2, 2,* 11-17 with the remark that no attention need be paid to it, since no one recognised it (*2, 2,* 17 : *aparigrakâch cha atyantam anapekshâ*), a proof, that in Bâdarâyana's time or country Kânada's teaching was in disrepute. On the other hand, we must conclude from the way in which he treats the Sânkhya, that this system (recommended by authorities like the Mahâbhârata and Manu) was held in high regard in his time. At every opportunity he recurs to it, in part in long discussions (as 1, 1, 5-11, 1, 4, 1-13. *2,* 1, 1-12. *2, 2,* 1-104), in part in separate references (1, 1, 18. 1, 2, 19. 1, 2, 22. 1. 3. 1, 3, 11. 1, 4, 28. *2,* 1, 29. *2,* 3, 51. 4, *2,* 21), to which others are sometimes attached (*2,* 1, 3 and 4, *2,* 21, the Yoga, *2,* 1, *29,* and *2,* 3, 51, the Vaisheshika *2,* 1, 4-11, the systems of reflection in

general), and repeatedly (1, 4, 28 ; 2, 1, 12) the remark is made, that with the Sânkhya system the others are also dealt with.* It is worthy of remark, that Bâdarâyana does not mention by name any of the other systems (except the Yoga, 2, 1, 3 and the Yogins 4, 2, 21, which already stands nearer to the Veda) or any of their founders, and even avoids repeating the usual terms for their basic ideas, as, instead of *pradhâna* (the root-matter of the Sânkhyas), he far oftener says *smârta* (1, 2, 19), *anumâna* (1, 1, 18. 1, 3, 3) *ânumanika* (1, 4, 1) "the traditional," "the inferrible," while on the other hand *pradhâna* with him means Brahman. But the more careful he is to let the names of his opponents fall into oblivion, the more frequently, for the most part when investigating small differences between them, does he name the teachers of the two Mîmânsâ schools. As such appear in his work: *Bâdarâyana* (1, 3, 26. 1, 3, 33. 3, 2, 41. 3, 4, 1. 3, 4, 8. 3, 4, 19. 4, 3, 15. 4, 4, 7. 4, 4, 12). *Jâimini* (1, 2, 28. 1, 2, 31. 1, 3, 31. 1, 4, 18. 3, 2, 40 3, 4, 2. 3, 4, 18; 3, 4, 40. 4, 3, 12. 4, 4, 5. 4, 4, 11), *Bâdari* (1, 2, 30. 3, 1, 11. 4, 3, 7. 4, 4, 10), *Andulomi* (1. 4, 21. 3, 4, 45. 4, 4, 6), *Ashmarathya* (1, 2, 29. 1, 4, 20), *Kâshakrtsna* (1, 4, 22), *Kârshnâjini* (3, 1, 9) and *Atreya* (3, 4, 44). These are altogether, with two exceptions (1, 1, 30. 1, 3, 35), the only proper names that appear in Bâdarâyana's Sûtras.

As sources of knowledge our author uses the *Shruti*, and in the second rank for confirmation and without binding force, the *Smrti*, and in a very curious way uses the names which serve in the other systems to indicate the natural sources of knowledge, with an altered meaning in his own, so that with him *pratyaksha* (perception) repeatedly stands for Shruti, and *anumâna* (inference) for Smrti (1, 3, 28. 3, 2, 24. 4, 4, 20), and this as Shankara, p. 287, 11 explains, because the latter requires a basis of knowledge (*prâmânya*), but the former not. Under *Shruti* (Revelation, holy scripture) Bâdarâyana understands, not only the older Upanishads, Bradâranyaka, Chhândogya, Kâthaka, Kâushîtaki (2, 3, 41), Aitareya (1, 1, 5), Taittirîya (1, 1, 15) and the rest, but also certain Upanishads of the

* cf Shankara at 1, 4, 28, p. 403: "From *îkshater na ashabdam* (1, 1, 5,) onwards the teaching of Pradhâna [root-material of the Sânkhyas] as the cause of the world is in the Sûtras also [not only in the Commentary] again and again examined and refuted; for this assertion finds a support in certain passages of the Vedânta [Upanishads], which apparently speak for it, and this might at first sight deceive the unexpert. Also the said teaching approaches the teaching of the Vedânta, in that it recognises the identity of cause and effect, and is therefore recognised by Devala, and other composers of *Dharmasûtras*; therefore so much more effort has been expended on refuting it, than on refuting the atomism [of Kanâda] and other teachings. 'cf. p. 440, 6 :' The atomic teaching and others [in contradistinction to the Sânkhya], have not even been accepted in part by sages like Manu and Vyâsa."

Atharvaveda, as especially the frequently quoted Mundaka and Prashna, even products of such late origin as the Shvetâshvatara (1, 1, 11. 1, 4, 8. 2, 3, 22), and perhaps even the Jâbâla Upanishad; 3, 3, 25 refers to an unknown Upanishad of the Atharvaveda. It is also worthy of note, that the Sûtra 2, 3, 43 alludes to a verse of the Atharvaveda which is not found in the printed editions of it. Under *Smrti* (tradition) our author, according to Shankara, on whose explanations we are completely dependent for all quotations, understands the Sânkhya and Yoga systems (4, 2, 21), the Mahâbhârata, especially its episode called the Bhagavad Gîta, the law-book of Manu, and perhaps more (cf. 4, 3, 11). Beside it appears—3, 4, 43—custom (*âchâra*); (cf. 3 4, 3; 3 3, 3). As perfectly known, are mentioned the recensions of the Shruti works, differing according to the Vedic schools (*shâkhas*): Thus Bâdarâyana considers in particular the agreement and divergence in the Kânva and Mâdhyandina recension of the Brhadâranyaka Upanishad (1, 2, 20 *ubhaye*; 1, 4, 13 *asati anne*), as also the frequently appearing "some" (*eke*) refers for the most part to the differences of the Vedic schools (1, 4, 9. 3, 2, 2. 3, 2, 13. 4, 1, 17, and likewise *anye* 3, 3, 27), but at times also means different passages (4, 2, 13. 2, 3, 43) and teachers of the Mîmânsâ (3, 4, 15. 3. 4, 43) and once even (3, 3, 53) something quite different, namely, the materialists. His own work our author quotes with the words "*tad uktam*" (about this it has been said), by which at 1, 3, 21 he points back to 1, 2, 7, further at 2, 1, 31 to 2, 1, 27, and at 3, 3, 8 to 3 3, 7, just as through the equivalent "*tad nyâkhyâtam*" at 1, 4, 17 to 1, 1, 31. But the same formula "*tad uktam*" is further frequently used to indicate the Karmasûtras of Jâimini, thus 3, 3, 33 (Jâim. 3, 3, 14), 3, 3, 50 (p. 951, 3: *prathame kânde*), from which it may perhaps be concluded that the works of Jâimini and Bâdarâyana, each of whom quotes both himself and the other by name, may have been worked over by a later editor in the sense of a unified whole, and provided with the already mentioned and other additions.*

* In this unified form the work of Jâimini and Bâdarâyana seems to have been commented on by Upavarsha, on whose work the commentaries of Shabarasvâmin and Shankara may rest, cf. p. 953, 2: "We proceed now to an investigation "of the immortality of the soul, for the purpose of the teaching of its bondage "and liberation. For did the soul not endure beyond the body, the command- "ments which promise a reward in another world would not be permissible, and "still less could it be proved that the soul is identical with Brahman. But was "not the existence of the soul beyond the body, and its enjoyment of the fruit "promised in the teaching of the scripture already settled at the beginning of the "book of the teaching in the first pâda [that is, Jâim 1, 1, 5]? Of course, only "by the commentator (*bhâshyakrt*), but there is no sûtra there on the continued "existence of the soul. Here, on the contrary, its continued existence is, after pre- "vious mention of objections, confirmed by the composer of the sûtras (*sûtrakrt*). "It was from here that the teacher Shabarasvâmin took it and explained it in "the Prâmanalakshanam [the first book of Jâimini, and in reality at 1, 1, 5

To such an editor would the name *Vyâsa* (the arranger), occurring (according to Colebroooke M. E. 3, p. 352) in connection with Bâdarâyana, be admirably suited, and he might very well be Vyâsa, the father of Shuka, the teacher of Gândapâda, the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of Shankara, and thus be 200—300 years older than his commentator, Shankara (Windischmann, Sanc. p. 85), though Shankara understands by Vyâsa in all the passages where this name occurs, p. 313, 9. 440, 6. 690, 11. 764, 10 and *Vedavyâsa*, p. 298, 5, cf. Mâhabh. III, 7660), only the editor of the Mahâbhârata, while he calls the author author of the Sûtras, p. 1153, 8, *bhagavân* Bâdarâyanâchârya.

4. *Form of the Brahma-sûtras; Shankara's Commentary.*

After these indications, which can only be of use after a determination, only possible in the future, of the date when our work was composed, let us turn to a consideration of its form, which is a very wonderful one. It is composed, as are also the basic works of the other Indian philosophic systems, in a series of *sutras*, which word means "thread" (from *Siv-Lat. suere*), and is here most simply understood as the warp of threads stretched out in weaving to form the basis of the web, but which will become the web only when the woof is added,* just as the Sûtras become a connected whole only through the explanations interwoven among them by oral or written exposition. For without this the 555 Sûtras, consisting for the most part of two or three words each, in which our author lays down the whole Vedânta system, are utterly unintelligible, especially as they contain, not so much the leading words of the system, as the catch words, for the memory to grasp, and these seldom bring up the main matter, frequently something quite subordinate have often a quite general, indeterminate form, which fits the most different circumstances and leaves everything to the interpreter. Thus the same Sûtra often recurs: thus for instance *smrtesh cha* 1, 26. 4, 3, 11; *shrutesh cha* 3, 4, 4. 3, 4, 46; *darchayati cha* 3, 3, 4. 3, 3, 22; *darshanâchcha* 3, 1, 20. 3, 2, 21. 3, 3, 48. 3, 3, 66. 4, 3, 13, that is, five times, and, in fact, if we are to believe the Commentary, as indeed we must, in different meanings, since *darshanâchcha* in the rule (3, 2, 21. 4, 3, 13 cf. 1, 3, 30) means

" p. 18-24]. The venerable Upavarsha also, in the first book of the teaching, " where he declares the continued existence of the soul, points to this also, since " he says: 'In the Shârîraka [that is, in the Brahmasûtras] we shall explain " it.' And so here, after consideration 'of the honours resting on prescription, " the continued existence of the soul is taken into consideration, in order to show " that this teaching is in conformity with the whole canon of the teaching.' "

* cf. p. 622, 2: *tattha sûtrâir ûrnâ adibhish cha vichitrân kambalân vitanvate* Compare also our "text," from *texere*, to weave, and the Chinese *king*, "warp of a web" (Schott, Chin. Litt., p. 3).

"because the scripture teaches it," while in 3, 1, 20, 2, 2, 15 and 4, 2, 1 it means: "because experience shows it," and 3, 3, 48: "because it is perceived (from the indications)." In the same way we twice have the sûtra *gâunyasambhavât* (2, 3, 3. 2, 4, 2), and yet, as Shankara himself makes clear (p. 706, 9), in quite contrary meanings. Thus *anumânam* generally means "the Smrti" (*e.g.*, 1, 3, 28. 3, 2, 24. 4, 4, 20), then it is also by substitution the synonym of *pradhânam* (root-matter of the Sânkhyas in 1, 3, 3; thus, again, *itara*, 2, 1, 21, means the individual, but, 2, 3, 21, the highest soul, and again, 4, 1, 14, "the good work"; and *prakaravât*, 1, 2, 10 and 1, 3, 6, "because it is spoken of," but, 4, 4, 17, "because he is trusted with it." This is accompanied by a special leaning to rare words and turnings through which another word is frequently chosen, when the passage of the Upanishad taken for consideration, and sometimes indicated only by the word concerned, offers it; thus 1, 1, 24 *charana* for *pâda* (Chhând. 3, 12, 6); 1, 3, 1 *sva* for *âtman* (Mund. 2,2, 5); 1, 3, 2 *upa-sarp* for *upa-i* (Mund. 3, 2, 8); 1, 3, 10 *ambara* for *âkâsha* (Brh. 3, 8, 7; 1, 3, 39 *kampana* for *ejati* Kâth. 6, 2); 1, 4, 24 *athidhyâ* for *akâmayata* (Taitt. 2, 6), *Aikshata* (Chhând. 6, 2, 3); 4, 3, 2 *abda* for *samvatsara* Chhând. 5, 10, 2); 4, 3, 3 *tadit* for *vidyut* (Chhând 5, 10, 2) and so on.*

This condition of the Brahmasûtras cannot be sufficiently explained either by the striving after brevity or the predilection for characteristic ways of expression. Much rather must we admit that the composer, or composers, intentionally sought after obscurity, in order to make their work treating of the secret doctrine of the Veda inaccessible to all those to whom it was not opened up by the explanations of a teacher. From such explanations conformably to this intention, originally only oral, may in the course of time have arisen the written Commentaries which Colebrooke (Misc. Ess p. 332, 334) enumerates, and of which only that of Shankara is now accessible to us. We must therefore as yet renounce the effort to keep Bâdarâ-

* Among rare, in part not otherwise authenticated words and turnings, we remark also the following: 1, 1, 5 and 1, 3, 13, *îkshati* as substantive; 1, 1, 25 *nigada*; 1, 1, 31 *upâsâ* for *upâsanâ*; 1, 2, 4 *karma-kartr* for *prâpya prâpaka*; 1, 2, 7 *arbhaka*, *okas*; 1, 2, 26 drshti; 1, 1, 30 *shâstra-dṛshti*; 1, 3, 4 *prânabhrt*, "individual soul;" 1, 3, 34 *shuch*; 2, 1, 16 *avaram* for *karyam* (effect); 2, 1, 26 *kopa* shaking (the authority of scripture); 2, 3, 1 *viyat* for *âkâsha*; 2, 3, 8 *mâtarishvan* for *vâyu*; 2, 3, 10 *tejas* for *agni*; 2, 4, 9 *kriya*, organ, for *karanam*; 2, 4, 20 *saṃjnâ-mûrti-klpti* for the usual *nâma rûpa kalpanam*; 3, 1, 1 *anhati*; 3, 1, 8 *anushaya* "remainder of work" (*bhukta-phalât karmaṇo' tiriktam karma* Shank. p. 760, 5); 3, 1, 21 *samshokaja* for *sredaja*; 3, 1, 22 *sâbhâvya*; 3, 2, 10 *mugdha* for *murchita* (weak); 3, 3, 3 *sara*; 3, 3, 25 *vedha*; 3, 3, 57 *bhumân samasta*; 4, 2, 4 *adhyaksha* "individual soul;" 4, 2, 7 *srti* way; 4, 2, 17 *shesha* consequence; 4, 3, 1 *prathiti* proclamation; 4, 3, 7 *karyam* for *aparam brahma*.

yana's teaching and Shankara's interpretation of it separate from each other, so that our exposition, strictly taken, is one of the Vedânta system from the standpoint of Shankara only. Besides it is nowhere in contradiction to the Sûtras (for it might be 1, 1, 19, about which we shall treat, Chapter IX, 5, and somewhat also p. 870, 5, where *âdhyânâya* is explained by *samyagdarshana-artham*, and p. 908, 12, where the interpreter for *ubhayathâ* substitutes *ubhayathâ-vibhagena*), although 3, 1, 13, p. 764, 3 is in the strange position that, in considering Kâth., 2, 6, Shankara refers the words *punah punar vasham âpadyate me*, with Bâdarâyana, wrongly to the penalties of hell, while, in his Commentary on Kâth., 2, 6, p. 96, 14, he rightly understands the same words as referring to repeated birth and death. Here and there his explanation of a Sûtra is doubtful (*e. g.*, 2, 4, 12, 3, 2., 33) ; in the following places he gives (or the different hands that have worked over them give) a double explanation : 1, 1, 12-19. 1, 1, 31. 1, 3, 27. 1, 4, 3, 2, 2, 39-40, 2, 4, 5-6. 3, 1, 7. 3, 2, 22. 3, 2, 33. 3, 3, 16-17. 3, 3, 26. 3. 3, 35. 3, 3, 64 ; at 1, 1, 23 he combats (p. 141, 1 ff.) the reference of the Sûtra to Brh. 4, 4, 18 Chhând. 6, 8, 2 instead of to Chhând. 1, 10, 9 ; at 1, 4, 26 he remarks that many treat it as two Sûtras ; at 1, 2, 26 and 2, 1, 15 he notes a variant reading of the Sûtra ; at 2, 4, 2, 3, 3, 38 and 3, 3, 57 another apprehension of it ; 3, 2, 11-21 he treats as connected, and rejects, after a very profound discussion, the opinion of those who make two sections (*adhikarana*), namely 11-14 and 15-21, of it ; yet more remarkable and indicative of profound differences of principle among the interpreters is it, when Shankara, p. 1124, 9, mentions and further amply refutes, the opinion of others which desires to find the Siddhânta (the final opinion) expressed, not in the concept of Bâdarâyana 4, 3, 7-11, but in the subsequent one of Jâimini, which seems to presuppose that, for them, Bâdarâyana was not the final author of the work, and would be in harmony with the abovementioned indications of the Karma-mîmânsâ as a part of the same work, and of the author as *Vyâsa*.

Shankara's Commentary has, as we have reason to believe, suffered many interpolations, particularly in the first part, where they are generally introduced with the words *apara, âha*. The pursuit of this subject would lead us too far, so that we only name briefly the passages in which we believe ourselves to detect additions from a foreign hand : (1) p. 122 ; 9-129, 5, which we shall treat of in Chap. IX 5 ; (2) p. 141, 7-142, 3, seems to be a polemic addition of another, cf. p. 138, 12 ; (3) p. 150, 10-151, 5, without doubt an interpolation ; (4) p. 153, 5-154, 2 an "*apara*," who took offence at the saying that Brahman is in Heaven instead of beyond Heaven, repeats Shankara's words, while improving on them ; (5) p. 163, 11 there follows,

with the words "*athavâ asya ayam anyo' rthah,*" a quite different explanation of the Sûtra, possibly from a different hand; (6) p. 184, 1-185, 17 : an "*apara*" contests the previously made application of the verse Mund. 3,1,1 and explains it in another sense, with an appeal to the Pâingirahasya-brâhmana; here he quotes Brh. 4,5,15 according to the Mâdhyandinas, while Shankara is usually wont to quote this passage according to the Kânvas (or instead 2, 4, 14 Mâdhy.), p. 111, 4. 199, 12. 393, 3. The motive of this digression seems to be taken from p. 232, 12; it is ignored at 3, 3. 34, as the addition p. 122, 9; 129. 5 at 3, 3, 11-13, (7) p. 228, 2-6 evident addition of an interpolater, according to whom the bridge "*Seta*" in Mund. 2, 2, 5 is the knowledge of Brahman, and not Brahman itself, to which, however, the expression is referred before, p. 227, 10, and again later, (p. 83.4, 11, 8) p. 247, 3 (perhaps only to 247, 7) an "*apara*" asserts that the *jîvaghana* is not the *jîva*, as already explained, but *brahmaloka*. On a fusion of both views seems to rest the apprehension of *jîvaghana* as Hiranyagarbha in the Commentary on Prashna 5, 5.

5. Quotations in Shankara's Commentary.

It is of special interest to trace back to their source the numerous quotations, introduced for the most part by a "*shrûyate*," or "*smaryate*," without further statement of their origin, though in general verbally correct, in which Shankara's Commentary, in all its parts is so rich, in part, because a full understanding of the text becomes thereby possible for the first time, * in part, because an accurate determination of the writings which Shankara did and did not use may be of use to many valuable investigations of the genuineness of the other works which are attributed to Shankara, of certain interpolations in the Commentary, of the incorporation of older preparatory works in it, and so forth.

Not without labour, we have prepared an Index of all the quotations occurring in Shankara's Commentary, together with a statement of their source, which is added at the end of this work, and will serve as a welcome aid to the study of the Brahmasûtras. At the same time it is to be used with a certain care; for on the one side the quotations sometimes show more or less important deviations from their sources, and it cannot in every case be satisfactorily decided whether these deviations are due merely to inaccuracy, or to difference of

* Thus, to give only one example, Banerjea (Trans. p. 34) has completely misunderstood the words p. 87, 11, "*sthita prajnasya ka bhâshâ,*" because he did not recognise them as a quotation from the Bhag. G. 2, 54, and Bruining (Trans. p. 29) does not make matters better by leaving the passage in question out altogether (cf. further p. 395, 5. 1081, 9).

reading, or, finally, that Shankara had before him, not the passage quoted by us, but a parallel passage from another Shâkhâ ; on the other side we must leave a (relatively small) number of quotations undetermined, whether it is that they are taken from lost writings, or that we have not yet come across them. or have overlooked them in the writings which are to hand. We shall indicate them the more exactly, because the conclusions which can be drawn from the other facts have validity only so far as they are not upset by the not yet recognised quotations.

According to an estimate, which within certain bounds (according as things connected are joined or separated) is subjective, we count in the whole Commentary, all repetitions and simple references included, 2,523 quotations, of which 2,060 are derived from the Upanishads, 150 from other Vedic scriptures, and 313 from non-Vedic literature.

(*a.*) UPANISHAD QUOTATIONS.

The Upanishads, arranged according to the frequency with which they are used, provide quotations in the following numbers : Chhândogya (quoted according to 8, not according to 10 *prapâthakas*, p. 106,1 1809 ; Brhadâranyaka, the fourth Adhyâya of which is quoted, p. 330, 4, as *shashtha prâpathaka*, and as its beginning p. 893, 3, Shatap. Br XIV 1, 1, 1, that is, according to the Mâdhyandinas) 565 ; eight of which (p. 198, 8. 366, 9. 385, 3. 677, 7. 682, 12. 685, 10. 893, 3. 1098. 13) are only found in the Mâdhyandina-recension (Shatap. Br. XIV, while the others are mostly quoted according to the Kânvas, but also sometimes according to the Mâdhyandinas, without showing any fixed principle ;* Tâittirîya (Taitt. Ar. VII, VIII, IX) 142: Mundaka 129 ; Kâthaka 103 ; Kâushîtaki 88 (which

* Very remarkable is the disproportion with which the two great Upanishads, Brhadâranyaka and Chhândogya, are used. According to the external extent and internal meaning of these two works, as well as the treatment which Shankara bestows on them in his Commentaries (where the Brh, numbers 1096, the Chhând. 628 pages, including the text), one would rather expect a contrary relation of the numbers of quotations. This one-sided preference for the Chhând. Up. is in harmony with the leading rôle which it plays in the whole design of the Brahmasûtras ; thus of the 28 Upanishad passages in connection with which the theology in the first Adhyâya is discussed, Chhând. provides 12, Brh. 4, Kâth. 4, Mund. and Prashna together 4, Tâitt. and Kâush. together 4. (on this cf. Chap. VII, 2). In the case of parallel texts, as for example in the Panchâgnividyâ (Brh. 6, 2, Chhând. 5, 3-10), as a rule, the (mostly secondary) readings of the Chhând. are preferred; finally, it is remarkable that where a passage is quoted with the bare addition : "*iti brâhmanam*," "*tathâ brâhmanam*," with two exceptions (p. 1145, 8. 1116, 11) as far as we know, the Chhândogya is always to be understood (p. 143, 6 240,11 262, 12. 307, 7 390, 4. 906, 3. 1014, 11) as though it were the Brâhmana, Κατ' ἐξοχήν and even on p. 106, 1 Chhând. VI is quoted with the words "*shashta prapathake*" without further addition, as if it were self-evident that it only could be meant.

agree now with the first, now with the second recension of Cowell, but often diverge from both, as for example Kâush. 3, 3 is quoted p. 140, 15 and again exactly the same p. 299, 7 contrary to both recensions, which makes it very probable that Shankara had before him a third recension of this work, which he quotes comparatively seldom; Shvetâshvatare (quoted p. 110, 5 as "*shvetâstwatarânâm mantropanishad,*" cf. p. 416, 1. 920,4) 53. Agni rahasya (Shatap. Br. X) 40 (mostly found on p. 214-222. 943-952); Prashna 38; Aitareya (Ait. Ar. II, 4-6) 22; Jâbâla 13. nine of which (p. 222, 8. 223, 1. 417, 11. 988, 8—991, 4. 999, 6. 1000, 1. 3. 1025, 8) are found in the Jâbâlapanishad, but the four others (924. 7=1059, 1. 931, 4=933, 4) not; Nârâyanîya (Taitt âr. X) 9 (890, 2, 13. 891, 1, 5. 6. 10. 892, 1. 998, 2. 998. 4.); Ishâ (Vâj. samh. XI) 8 (66, 4. 74, 1. 395, 5. 414, 1. 979, 9. 985, 12. 986, 2. 1126, 10); Pâingi 6 (184, 2, 7 185, 4. 889, 10. quoted as *Pâingi-rahasya-brahmanam,* 232, 12 [=184, 2] as *Pâingy-Upanishad,* undetermined 903, 3); Kena 5 (70, 1. 4. 10. 163, 3. 808, 10). Besides, p 892, 7 (perhaps only because the Sûtra required it) a (to me known) Atharvan Upanishad (or the unknown beginning of a known one) is quoted with the words *atharvanikânam-upanishad ârambhe*). We leave undetermined the seven times quoted passage: "*âkâshavat sarvagatash cha nityah*" (130, 12 ∓ 172, 5=610, 3=624, 8=652, 7=838, 9=1124, 12), which, according to the commentator on Chhând. p. 409, 8, is ascribed to the Kâthaka (by which he understands the Upanishad [p. 409, 6] as well as the Samhitâ [p. 139, 4], hardly with justice; as also the following Upanishad-like passages: 87, 9. 112, 8. (=1047, 12=1135, 6). 113, 3. 182. 7. 610, 6. 7. 613, 4. 679, 8. 717, 10=719, 8=939, 7). 741, 10. 832, 8. 964, 2. 1049, 7. [Brh. 4, 4, 21]. 1074, 5. 1145, 12, and, as especially worthy of notice, 808, 11 and 982, 11. If we overlook these not yet discovered quotations, we can note as result that no Upanishad except those above enumerated occurs; that is, neither Mândûkya (69, 2. 77, 5 occur also in Brh.), nor Mâitri, nor any of the Atharvana-Upanishads, since 810,1 is indeed to be found in Brahma-vindûp. 12, but probably also in Mahâbh. XII, and was taken from that work.

(*b.*) Other Vedic Quotations.

Rgveda-samhitâ: Book (I) 138, 1. 211, 13. 403, 2. (II) 960, 8. (IX) 341, 7. (X) 151, 13. 208, 13. 211, 11. 215, 6.

brâhmana: (I) 901, 9. (III) 74, 8. 313, 2. (V) 43, 2. (VII) 990, 10.—*Aitareya-âranyaka:* (II) 103, 10. 872, 10. 924, 6. 958, 4. 1000, 9. 1002, 9. (III) 150, 6. 450, 7. 450, 8.

783, 9. 852, 3. *Kâushîtaki-brâhmana* : perhaps, 893, 4. (Under the same name Kâush. Up. is quoted 378, 2. 868, 3 ; perhaps Shankara regarded both as a single work).—Perhaps the supplements of the Rânâyanîyas (*khila*), quoted 887, 9, may be counted to the *Sâmaveda-samhitâ*.—*Panchavinsha-brâhmana* (XX) 319, 9. 319, 10. (XXI) 919, 5. 960, 7.—*Shadvinsha-brâhmana :* (I) 892, 9 cf. Râjendralâla Mitra, Chhând. (Up., introd., p. 17 N.)—*Arsheya-brâhmana*, p. 3 (Burnell) : 301, 8. According to the Glossator 288, 1 also comes from a Brâhmana of the Chhandogas (cf. Rgv. IX, 62, 1) ; presumably also the passage quoted with " *iti brâhmanam :*" 1115, 6.—*Vâjasaneyi-samhitâ* : (I) 960, 1 ? (XXI) 960, 5 ? (XXXII) 1123, 7.—Shatapatha-brâhmana (besides books X and XIV) : (I) 1033, 10, (VI) 310, 5. 422, 9. 701, 7. 201, 8. (VIII) 1098, 3. (XI) 320, 7. 749, 1. (XII) 980, 1. (XIII) 609, 10. 1005, 3.—*Taittirîya samhita :* (I) 51, 5. 52, 2. 146, 12. 362, 11. 747, 4. 990, 8. (II) 311, 12. 412, 8. 704, 3. 858, 5. 858, 6. 941, 9. 942, 1. 975, 4. 992, 5. 1006, 8. 1011, 10. (III) 312, 1. 935, 4. 971, 4. 975, 2. (V) 709, 5. 6. 12. 711, 15. 712, 3. 951, 12. 1077, 2. (VI) 975, 3. (VII) 315, 11. 960, 9.—*Taittirîya-brâhmana :* (I) 902, 1. (II) 289, 6. (III) 146, 9. 304, 7. 418, 1.—*Taittirîya-âranyaka* (with exception of books VII, VIII, IX, X) : (III) 111, 8. 390, 6. 454, 14. 686, 9.—*Kâthaka* : 311, 5 and 1016, 11. ("*Kathânâm samhitâyâm* ") 859, 12 ; ("*agnihotra-darsha-pûrna-mâsa-âdînâm Kâthaka-eka-grantha-paripathitânâm,*") 893, 1. ("*Kathânâm*) ;" the latter passage belongs to those which according to 893, 10 stand " *Upanishad granthânâm samûpe ;*" let it be remembered that the Kâth. Up is repeatedly (335, 6. 852, 5. 869, 2) quoted as " *Kâthakam,*" and it follows almost certainly that for Shankara it still formed a whole with the *Kâthaka*.—*Maitrâyani-samhitâ :* 959, 14 ; 960, 3 according to the Glossator).—*Atharvaveda-samhitâ* : no certain quotation ; 171, 4. 686, 7 are far more probably to be referred to Shvet ; the verse 686, 2. (" *âtharvanikâ brahmasûkte* ") is not found in our recension ; for 851, 11 cf. A. V. 10, 9 Kâush. 64ff.—That the *Gopatha-brâhmana* is ignored, we have already seen above, p. 11. These brâhmana-like quotations remain undetermined : 43, 1. (=370, 1=483, 1=849, 13). 75. 1. 81, 8. 83, 4. 112, 1. 141, 15. (cf. schol. Kâty. 7, 1, 4, p. 625, 23). 640, 8. 747, 8. 846, 2. 960, 4. 994, 6. 1001, 4. 1017, 10. Probably many of them will yet be found in the Taittirîya texts.*

* Shankara quotes, p. 412, 8, not " *Manurvai yat kincha avadat, tad bhîshajam âsît* " (Kâthaka 11, 5, Ind. Stud. III, 463) . but " *yad vâi kincha manur avadat, tad bheshajam*" (Taitt. S. 2, 2, 10, 2) ;—p. 747, 4 not "*apo vai shraddha*" (Maitrây. S., p. 59, 3 Sch öder) , but " *shraddhâ vâ apah* " (Taitt. S. 1, 6, 8, 1) ;--p. 1017,2 not " *taratî survam pâpmânam* " and so on, (Shatap. Br. 13, 3, 1, 1) but "*sarvam*

Mention is further made of other Vedic schools, in part with quotations : *Kâuthumaka* 846, 1 ; *Shâtyâyanaka* 846, 1. 893, 1. 899, 7=907, 8=1082, 15. 902, 10 ; *Bhâllavm* 902, 9. 903, 6. *Archâbhin* 903, 4.

From the Sutra-Literature come : *Ashvalâyana* 894, 10. 897, 5 ; *Kâtyâyâna* 931, 11. 932, 8. 1020, 1 ; *Apastamba* 410, 6. 754, 3. 1026, 7 ? 1036, 4. 1130, 9.—To the same source may belong : 322, 5. 6 ; 9. 11. 692. 4. 4. 5. 761, 5. 1016, 6. 1030, 1.

(*c*) Non-Vedic Quotations.

Bhagavadgîtâ in 53 passages ; *Mahâbhârata* (with many variants) : (I) 310, 4. (IV) 276, 7. 412, 6. (VI) 1107, 14. (XII) 133, 5. 213, 12. 283, 9. 288, 6. 288, 10. 298, 5. 302, 7. 304, 12. 305, 1. 322, 14 409, 6. 409, 9. 413, 1. 413, 2. 413, 4. 413, 7. 638, 1. 660, 1 677, 9. 690, 13. 692, 5. 758, 1. 809, 6. 828, 3. 915, 8. 1025, 5. 1048, 1. 1101, 6 (XIII) 338, 12. 1022, 5.—Undetermined, like the Mahâbhârata : 72, 6. (=427,5=827,7). 214, 3. 309, 10. 362, 7. 726, 11. 809, 14. 828, 5. 916, 3. 917, 1. (=1122, 1) 1009, 6. 1041, 8 12. 1057, 6. 1075, 11. 1101, 9 15.—*Râmâyana* : 1036, 5.—*Mârkandeya-purâna* (XLV) 208, 15. 872, 8.—*Purânas* : 410, 1. 427, 3=482, 6. 495, 10. 633, 12. perhaps 713. 14.—*Manu* : (I) 196, 13. 289, 1. 1093, 14. (II) 730, 5. 1023, 3. (IV) 322, 10. 907, 12. X) 321, 2. 321, 3. 1016, 4. (XII) 412, 10. 437, 3.—*Dharmashâstra* like : 1024 4. 1027, 3= 1030, 6. 1031, 1.

Yâska (p. 31, 15 Roth) 39, 2.—*Pânini* : 234, 3. 366, 1. 399. 10 ; mentions as a "*smrtir anapavadanîyâ*" 416, 6.—*Paribhâshâ* to Pânini (8, 3, 82) 1122, 9.

Sânkhya-kârikâ : 355, 12. 361, 4. 718, 2.—No certain quotation from the *Sânkhya-sûtras* ; cf. however 417, 9. 447, 11. 485, 7.—Other Sânkhya quotations are perhaps 345, 10. 346, 1. 420, 13.—*Yogasûtras* : 314, 6. 723, 12 ; not in our text 416, 4 ; cf. also 1072, 3.—*Vyâyasûtras* : 67, 6. 594, 1.—*Vâisheshikasûtras* : (I) 539, 13 (IV) 525, 1. 534, 5. 534, 7. 535, 2 (VII) 524, 1. 524, 2 and again 524, 2.—*Mîmânsâsûtras* : (I) 50, 5. 58, 4. 52, 1, again 58, 4. 80, 1. 61, 7. 89, 2. 285, 3. 411, 2. 1002, 3. 1028, 10 (II) 100, 5. 848, 6 (III) 897, 1. 944,

tâpmânam tarati" and so on (Tâitt. S. 5, 3, 12, 1) ;—p. 709, 5, not "*sapta vâi shîrshan prânâh*" (Ait. Br. 3, 3, 1) or '*sapta shirasi prânâh*" (Panch. Br. 22, 4, 3) but "*sapta vâi shîrshanyâh prânâ, dvâv avânchân*" (Tâitt. S. 5, 3, 2 5). —A glance at the above comparisons teaches further, that (excepting the Upanishads and what pertains to them) Shankara quotes from the other Shâkhâs only occasionally, but on the other hand from that of the Tâittiriyas constantly. Perhaps in the future, from this fact, and conversely from the above (note 21) mentioned preference for the Chhând. Up., which runs through the original web of the work, certain conclusions may be derived as to its compilation from elements of different character.

4. 919, 10 995, 1. 1011, 12 (VI) 278, 3. 1027, 1 ; presumably from book (XI—XII) 903, 9. 906. 3. 942, 5 951, 3.—Similar : 58, 2. 79, 9. 953. 5. 953, 9. 77, 14.—*Gândapâda :* 375, 3. 433, 1.—Unknown 89, 10. 1003, 1.—*Buddhistic* : 555, 6. 558, 7. 563, 4.—*Bhâgavatas :* 601, 3. 602, 6. 14. 604, 6. 8.—*Svapnâdhyâyavidah :* 283, 11—Indian sayings : 823, 10= 825, 5 ; unknown 978, 3.

To these are added 99 quotations and references to the sûtras of Bâdarâyana himself, and eight passages about which it is doubtful if they contain a quotation (61, 8. 157, 10. 238, 4. 301, 6. 367, 9. 369, 8. 1025, 4. 1094, 13), which raises the sum total to 2,523 quotations.

6. Somewhat Concerning Shankara.

The date of Bâdarâyana and the circumstances of his life are entirely unknown to us. Of Shankara it seems to be certain that he lived about 700 or 800 after Christ, in *Shringagiri*, where perhaps also he was born, founded a famous school, as an ascetic pilgrim (*Paramahansa, Parivrâjaka*), undertook journeys as far as Kashmir, to work for his doctrine, and died in *Kânchi*.* From his labours as a teacher, by which a new impetus was given to the teaching of the Vedânta in India, arose a great number of writings which bear his name, but whose

* Colebrooke M E. p. 332 ; Wilson Sanskrit Dict., p. XVI ff ; Windischmann Sanc p. 39-48. According to the *Aryavidyâ sudhâkara* p. 226 and the quotations there given, Shankara was born in the village of *Kâlapî* in the territory of *Kerala* as son of *Shivaguru Sharman* in the year 3889 of the Kaliyuga (which began 18th February 3102 B. C.), in the year 845 of the Vikramâditya (beginning 56 B. C.), which would bring us to 787-789 A. D. as the year of his birth. The passage runs : "*Sâ iyam adhyâtma vidyâ, Kali-Kâlavashât-Krishnatvam âpannâ api, shrimach Chhankara-âchâryair brahmasûtra-upanishad-bhagavadgîtâ-pramukheshu brahmavidyâ-pratipâdaka grantheshu bhashyâdîn prasanna-gambhîrân mahâ-nibandhân virachya samupabrnhitâ Tad anu Vishwarûpâ-chârâ vâchaspatimishra prabhr ibhir âchârya-shishya-prashishya-âdibhir varttika vivarana-bhâmatî-pramukhân udâra nibandah-nichayân abadhya supratishthâpitâ, iti jñeyam. Shankara-âchârya-prâdur-bhâvas tu Vikramârka-Samayâd atîte (845) pancha-chatvârinshad-adhika-ashtashatîmite samvatsare Kerala-desha kâlapigrâme Shivagurusharmano bhâryâyâm samabhavat. Tathâ cha sampradâyavida' âhur :*

Nidhi-nâga-ibha-vahny-abde, vibhave, mâsi madhave,
Shukla-tithâu, dashamyâm tu shankarâryâ-udayah smrta,' iti

"*Nidhinâgebhavahnyabde*" : (3889) *nava-ashîti-uttara ashtashatî-adhika-trisahasrîmite varshe, iti arthah, kaliyugasya, iti sheshah.—Tathâ Shankara-manaûra-sûrabhe nîlakantha-bhattâ' api evam eva âhuh* "*Prâsûta tishya-sharadâm atiyâta vatyâm ekâdasha-adhika-shata-ûna-chatuhsahasryâm* "*iti-âdi.—Tishya-sharadâm,*" *Kaliyuga-varshânâm, iti arthah.*"

"After this science of the highest spirit had suffered diminution through the sway "of the Kali age, it was supplied with new force by the illustrious Shankara-âchârya, "in that he composed luminous and profound commentaries and the like of great "compass to the Brahmasûtras, the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgîtâ and other

genuineness still remains to be investigated. His master-piece is the Commentary on the Brahmasûtras, together with the gloss of Govindânanda (for 3, 4 of Anandageri) numbering 1155 pages in the Bibl. Ind, which gives a substantially complete and sufficient picture of his system, and from which alone we draw our exposition of it, in order in this way to form a safe standard by which the genuineness of the other works attributed to Shankara, as well as the minor writings, as the Commentaries to the Upanishads, may subsequently be tested. From the investigations of the latter, weighty conclusions can then again be obtained as to the time when the different Upanishads came into existence, and as to their authority. We believe we have made a contribution toward this in the demonstration, of course still conditional, that has already been given, that Shankara, in the Commentary to the Brahmasûtras, used no other Upanishads except *Aitareya, Kâushîtaki ; Chhândogya, Kena ; Taittirîya, Kâthaka, Shvetâshvatara, Ishâ, Brhadâranyaka ; Mundaka, Prashna* (and incidentally *Pâingi, Agnirahasya, Jâbâla, Nârâyanîyâ*, and, once, an Atharvan Up.)* The Commentaries published in the Bibl. Ind. (Vol. II, III, VII, VIII.) to *Brhadâranyaka, Chhândogya, Taittirîya, Aitareya, Shvetâshvatara, Ishâ, Kena, Katha, Prashna, Mundaka, Mândûkya*, are handed down under Shankara's name ; it is remarkable that Kâushîtaki is not among them.† Besides these, he is said to have commented on *Atharvashikhâ* (Weber, Ind Stud., II, 53,

" scriptures which handed down the teaching of Brahman. These were then further " fortified by Vishvarûpâchârya, Vâchaspatimishra, and other pupils and pupils, " pupils of the master, through the composition of a mass of excellent works, such " as scholia, interpretations, explanations and the like ; this is to be known. The birth " of Shankara from the wife of Shivagurusharman happened in the territory of Kerala " in the village of Kâlapî after the 845th year of the era of Vikramârka [Vikramâ- " ditya] had gone by. And thus the knowers of the tradition say :

" In the year sea-elephant-mountain-beast-fire,
" In the increasing year, in the month Mâdhava,
" On the tenth day of the bright fortnight,
" There came to the world the noble Shankara.

" In the year sea-elephant-mountain-beast-fire, that is in the year 3889, meaning, " as must be supplied, of the Kali-era.—Thus says the Master Nîlakantha in the " work called 'Shankara the fragrance of the tree of heaven' 'He was born in " the myrobalan harvest while the four thousandth year less a hundred and eleven " years was passing.' The myrobalan harvest means the year of the Kali-era.

Further it is circumstantially explained that Mânikya (who according to Merutunga, lived about 1150 of Vikramâditya's, era) in his commentary to the Kâvyaprakâsha, quotes Kumârila-bhatta as a commonly recognised authority ; the latter must therefore have lived long before 1150 (=1094 A.D.), and therefore also Shankara, who had a meeting [very problematical, however] with Kumârila-bhatta in Prayâga.

* The *Vâshkala-Upanishad*, still existing in 1656 A. D., he cannot well have known, as otherwise he would quote the Myth of Indra as a ram, p. 310, 2, according to it, and not according to Shadv. 1, 1. For the remarkable passage 808, 11, there is no place in the Vâshkala-Up, as we know it according to Anquetil Duperon.

† According to Weber (L G. 2, p. 56) he also commented on *Kâushîtaki* ; yet this statement must be erroneous, so far as it rests (Ind. St., I, 392) only on the Berlin Manuscripts, No. 83-84 (Chambers, 292 *a*, 294 *b*, not 262) ; the Commentary contained in them bears the name of *Shankarâ-nanda*, pupil of the *Anandâtman* and is identical with that published by Cowell.

L, G², p. 182), *Nrsinhatâpanîya* (Colebr., p. 96) and *Atharvashiras* (Ind. St I, 383, L. G², p. 188). Other works going under his name are : *Aptavajrasûchî* (ed. Weber, Berlin 1860) and *Tripurî*, which are both counted as Upanishads (Weber, L. G², p. 179), *Upadeshasahasrî* (Colebr., p. 335, Hall, Bibhogr. Index, p. 99), *Âtmabodha* (ed. Calc. 1858), *Mohamudgara* (Hall, p. 103), *Bâlabodhanî* (ed. Windeschmann in Sanc., Bonn. 1833), *Bâlabodhinî* (Berl. Ms. No. 618,2) and a series of other writings, which will be found enumerated by Windischmann and Hall (cf. Regnaud, Materiaux, p. 34. Weber Verz der Berliner H. S., S. 180, L. G², p. 205, N. Lassen Bhagavadgîtâ, p. XII).

Characteristic* for Shankara's period as well for his theological conception is a passage of his Commentary on the Brahmasûtras, p. 313, 8 ff., which we translate here.

"For also, what is for us imperceptible was perceptible for the ancients ; thus it is recorded, that Vyâsa [the author of the Mahâbhârata] and others used to meet the Gods and [Rshis] perceptibly. But whoever would assert that, as for the now living, it was impossible also for the ancients to meet with Gods and the like, would deny the variety of the world ; he might also deny that, as at present, so also in other times, there were no world-swaying princes (*sârvabhaumah kshattriyah*) and thus he would not acknowledge the injunctions referring to the consecration of kings ; he might further affirm that, as at present, so also in other times, the duties of castes and Ashramas had no stable rules, and thus treat as aimless the canon of law which provides rules for them. We must therefore believe that the ancients, in consequence of pre-eminent worth, held visible converse with Gods and [Rshis] The Smrti also says [*Yogasûtra* 2 44] : "through study [is gained] Union with the beloved Godhead." And when it further teaches, that Yoga bestows as reward the mastery of nature, consisting [in the freedom from embodied being and its laws, and thereby] in the ability to become as small as an atom and the like [2, to become light, 3, to become large, 4, to reach everything, 5, to realise every wish, 6, to rule all being with one's will, 7, to possess creative power, 8, to penetrate all, [*Gândap* on *Sânkhyak*, 23, *Vedavyâsa* on *Yogas*, 3, 44] this is not to be rejected out of hand by a mere dictatorial sentence."

* As stylistic curiosities from Shankara's Commentary may be quoted : *prathamatara*, p 137, 4, 148, 12 ; *Upapadyate-tarâm* 144, 6 ; *akalpate* 815, 2 and *avyâ-chakshita* 819, 8 (a privative with a-verb) and, to read it so, also *avirudhyeta* 265, 3 ; *janimatah* 833, 14 ; *janvate* 844, 7 ; *akinchit-karatvât* 141, 5 ; *arddhajaratîya* 122, 13, 176, 11 (read so) ; *mukhya' eva prânasya dharmah* (for *mukhyasyaprânasya eva dharmah*) 161, 3 ; *shrutarahasyasya vijnânasya* (for *shruta-rahasya-vijnânasya*) 191, 7. Frequent enough is the use of the 3rd pers. sing. pres. as substantive : *charatih* 762, 4 ; *srjatih* 707, 10 ; *dhyâyatih* 1071, 11 ; *îkshati-dâi-shravanam* 109, 7 ; *karati-artha* 381, 4 ; *dhyâyati-artha* 1071, 10 ; also in the genitive : *sambhavater* 630, 3 ; *âpnoter* 1132, 9 ; *taratch prâpnoti-arthah* 834, 14 and also *prapanchayishyater*, which is, however, retracted in the Shuddhipatram.

II.—AIM OF THE VEDANTA: THE DESTRUCTION OF AN INNATE ERROR.

1.—The Basic Thought of the Vedanta and its Previous History; a Glance at Allied Theorems in the West.

In the introduction which Shankara affixes (p. 5—23) to his Commentary of the Brahmasûtras, he introduces us at once to the basic concept of the system, in that he declares all empirical, physical knowledge to be nescience (*Aviâyâ*), to which he opposes the Metaphysics of the Vedânta, as science (*Vidyâ*).—Before we approach the elaboration of this thought, let us call to mind certain things suited to throw light on its philosophic meaning, and thereby on the Vedânta system of which it is the root.

The thought that the empiric treatment of nature is not in a position to lead us to the last fathoming of the being of things, meets us not only among the Indians but also in many forms in the philosophy of the west. For if empiric or physical investigation were in a position to lay open to us the true and innermost being of nature, we should only have to advance along this way in order to come at last to an understanding of all truth; the final result would be Physics (in the broader sense, as the teaching of φύσις, nature), and there would be no purpose or justification for metaphysics. If, therefore, the metaphysicans of ancient and modern times, dissatisfied with empirical knowledge, went onward to metaphysics, then this step is only to be explained by a more or less clear consciousness that all empiric investigation and knowledge amounts at last only to a great deception grounded in the nature of our knowing faculties, to open our eyes to which is the task of metaphysics.

Thrice, so far as we know, has this knowledge come to an original expression among mankind, and each time, as it appears, by a different way, according to conditions of time, national and individual character; once among the Indians, of which we are to speak, again in Greek philosophy, through Parmenides, and the third time in the newer philosophy of Kant.

What directly drove the Eleatic sage to proceed beyond the world as "τὸ μὴ ὄν" to the investigation of "being" seems to have been the conception, brought into prominence by his predecessor Xenophanes, of the Unity of Being, that is, the unity of nature (by him called θεός), the consequence of which Parmenides followed up with unparalleled powers of abstraction, turning his back on nature, and for that reason also cutting off his return to nature.

To the same knowledge came Kânt by quite another way, since with Teutonic patience and solidity he subjected the knowing faculties of mankind to a critical analysis, really or only nominally, to examine whether this faculty be really the fitting instrument for the investigation of transcendental things, whereby he arrived at the highly remarkable discovery that, amongst other things, three essential elements of the world, namely, Space, Time and Casuality, are nothing but three forms of perception adhering to the subject, or, if this be expressed in terms of physiology, innate functions of the organ of mind; from this he concluded, with unswerving consistency, that the world, as it expands in space and time, and in all its appearances, great and small, is knit together by the web of causality, *in this form* exists only for our knowing faculty, being thereby subjected to the condition of revealing to us "appearances" only, and not the being of "things in themselves."

The methods of the Greek and Indian schools, however worthy of admiration, may seem external and cold, when we compare them with the way in which the Indians, as we must assume in the present condition of research, reached the same basic concept. Their pre-eminence will be intelligible when we consider that no people on earth took religion so seriously, none so toiled on the way to salvation as they did. Their reward for this was, if not the most scientific, yet the most inward and direct expression of the last secret of being.

How the path of development which led them to this goal is to be represented in detail, we cannot yet accurately determine; it seems to us specially matter of question how the historical relation between *Brahman* and *Âtman*, the two chief concepts on which Indian metaphysics grew, and which aleady in the Upanishads, so far as we see, are used throughout as synonyms, is to be considered: whether the concept of *Âtman* developed itself from that of *Brahman* through a mere sharpening of the subjective moment lying therein, or whether we have rather to distinguish between two streams, the one, more ecclesiastical, which raised *Brahman* to a principle; the other, more philosophical, which did the same for *Âtman*, until both, closely connected in their nature, were led into a common bed. Turning away from these and other thoughts for the present, let us briefly, by a few selected examples, mark the conjèctural steps of the way along which the Indian genius raised itself to the world-concept which we are then to set forth.

1. We have already pointed out how the Indians, setting out from the worship of personified powers of nature, recognised in that raising of the feeling above the consciousness of

individual existence which occurs in aspiration, that is, in *Brahman*, the central force in all the forces of nature, the shaping and directing principle of all Gods and all worlds; the word *Brahman* in the whole Rgveda never meaning anything else than this lifting and spiritualising power of aspiration (with the history of this concept may be compared that of the Logos Λόγος of the fourth Gospel, which rests on a similar abstraction and hypostasis.) From the standpoint of this apprehension of Brahman as a cosmic potency resting in the subject, the *Taittirîya-Brâhmana* (2, 8, 9, 6) for example, takes up a question put in the *Rgveda* (X, 81, 4) and answers it as follows :—

"Where was the tree and where the wood,
"From which the heaven and earth were hewed?
"In spirit pondering, seek for it, ye wise,
"Whereon the raiser of the worlds has stood!"
(Rgv. X, 81, 4)

"The Brahman is the tree, the wood,
"From which the heavens and earth were hewed,
"In spirit pondering, tell I you, ye wise,
"On this the raiser of the worlds has stood!"

2. To this is joined the concept that Brahman is the innermost and noblest in all the appearances of the world; it is as the *Kâthaka Up.* (5, 1-3) expresses it, while it changes and deepens the sense of the verse *Rgv. IV.* 40, 5, the sun in the firmament (*hansah shuchishad*), the God (*vasa*, the good) in the expanse of air, the Hotar at the Altar, the guest at the threshold of the house, it endures everywhere, is born everywhere,—but he only is free from sorrow and sure of liberation, who honours it, the unborn, unassailable spirit, in "the city with eleven doors" (the body), wherein it dwells, with the powers of life round it,—

"And in the middle sits a dwarf,
"Whom all the Godlike powers adore."

3. Here "in the lotus of the heart" the Brahman is now nothing else than the *Atman*, that is, the soul, literally "the self." We select an example from *Chhândogya-Up.* 3, 14:

"Verily this universe is Brahman; as "*Tajjalân* [in it "becoming, ceasing, breathing] it is to be adored in silence. "Spirit is its material, life its body, light its form; its decree "is truth, its self-endlessness [literally æther]; all-working is "he, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting * comprehending the "all, silent, ungrieved:—this is my soul (*âtman*) in the inmost "heart, smaller than a grain of rice, or a grain of barley, or a "grain of mustard-seed, or a grain of millet, or a grain of millet's

* M. Müller and Oldenberg (Buddha, p. 31); cf. however Brh. 4, 3, 24 and the οὖλος ὁρᾷ οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει of Xenophanes.

" kernel ;—this is my soul in the inmost heart, greater than the " earth, greater than the expanse of air, greater than the heaven, " greater than these worlds, the all-working, all-wishing, all- " smelling, all-tasting, embracing the All, silent, ungrieved, this " is my soul in the inmost heart, this is Brahman, thither I shall " enter in on departing hence.—He who has become this, he, " verily, doubts no more !—Thus spoke Shândilya, Shândilya."

4. The last-mentioned entering into the true self after death presupposes the consciousness of a difference between the empiric Self, that is, the bodily personality, and the highest Self (*paramatman*), which is the Soul, that is, God. This difference is the subject of a lesson, which Prajâpati gives to Indra, *Chhândogya-Up.* 8, 7-12, and in which he leads him up step by step to ever truer knowledge. To the question : "What is the Self ? " comes the immediate answer : (" the Self is the body, as it is reflected in the eye, in water, in a mirror." To the objection, that then the Self is also affected by the injury and surcease of the body, follows the second explanation: " (2.) ' The Self is the Soul, as it enjoys itself in dream.' To " the thought that the dreaming soul, if it does not suffer, still " believes itself to suffer, it is said: (3) ' When he who has sunk " to sleep has come altogether, fully, and wholly to rest, so that " he beholds no dream,—that is the Self, the undying, the " fearless, Brahman.' To the objection that in this condition consciousness ceases, that it is just like entering into nothing, Prajâpati at last answers : (4) " Mortal, verily, O ! Mighty one, " is this body, possessed by death ; it is the dwelling-place of " that undying, bodiless Self. The embodied is possessed by " desire and pain, for while he is embodied, there can be no " warding-off of desire and pain.

> " But desire and pain move not the bodiless.
> "Bodiless is the wind ;—clouds, lightning, thunder are bodiless.

As these raise themselves above the world " [in which " they are bound, like the soul in the body], enter into " the highest light, and thereby enter into their own form, " so also this restful one [that is, the Soul, in deep sleep] raises " itself above this body, enters into the highest light and reaches " its own form ; that is the highest Spirit."

In similar fashion the *Taittirîya-Up.* 2, 1-7 leads from the bodily Self, by stripping one covering after another off it, at last to the true Self. It distinguishes : (1) the Self consisting of food, in this, as in a cover, is held (2) ; the Self of breath, in this (3) the Self of manas, in this (4) the Self of knowledge, in this finally as in most (5) the Self of bliss.

" Verily, this is the Essence (*rasa*) ; he who reaches this essence, is filled with bliss ; for who could breathe and who could live, if this bliss were not in the expanse of air ?—For

he is that, who forms bliss; for when one finds peace and support in this invisible, bodiless, unspeakable, unindicable, then is he entered into peace; but if he in this also [as in the four first] recognises an empty space, an other, that he finds unrest; this is the unrest of him who thinks himself wise."

5. The Self in this sense, is, according, to *Chhândogya-Up.*, 6, 2, 1 "being," "the one without a second" and, answering to this, *Brhadâranyaka-Up* 2, 4, 5 refers and limits all investigation to the Self: "The Self, verily, Mâitreyô, is to be "seen, heard, thought on, and investigated; he who sees, hears, "thinks on, and investigates the Self, has understood all this "world."

"These worlds, these beings, these Gods, these all are what the Self is. It is the point of union (*ekâyanam*) for all, as the ocean for the waters, the ear for sound, the eye for focus, and so on; all outside it is as devoid of being as the sound that goes out from a musical instrument; he who has laid hold on the instrument has therewith also laid hold on the sounds that spring from it (lc 2, 4, 6-11). It is, according to *Chhândogya-Up.* 6, 1, 4, that from which all the world has come into being, a mere transformation of it: he who knows this one, therewith knows all, "just as, dear, by a lump of clay, "all that is made of clay is known; the transformation rests "on words, a mere name; in reality it is only clay!"

6. In conformity with this, the *Ishâ-Up.* 1, 6 bids us "sink the whole world in God," that is, in the Self:

> "Who, seeking, finds all being in the Self
> "For him all error falls, all sorrow ends;"

and the *Kâthaka-Up.* (4, 10-11) warns us not to admit a multiplicity, anything different (*nânâ*) from the soul:

> "For what is here is there, and what there here;
> "From death to death he goes who difference sees!
> "In spirit know there is no manifold;
> "From death to death he falls who difference knows."

7. It was a simple consequence of this conception when the Vedânta declared the empiric concept which represents to us a manifoldness existing outside the Self, a world of the Object existing independently of the subject, to be a glamour (*mâyâ*), an innate illusion (*bhrama*) resting on an illegitimate transference (*adhyâsa*), in virtue of which we transfer the reality, which alone belongs to the subject, to the world of the object, and, conversely, the characteristics of the objective world, *e.g.*, corporeality, to the subject, the Self, the Soul.

Concerning this, let us hear Shankara himself

2. Analysis of Shankara's Introduction (p. 5-23).

Object *(vishaya)* and Subject *(vishayin)*, he says at the beginning of his work, "having as their province the representa-"tion of the Thou [not I] and the I,* are of as opposed a nature "as darkness and light. If it is certain that the being of the "one is incompatible with the being of the other, it follows "so much the more that the qualities of the one also do not "exist in the other. Hence it follows that the transfer "*(adhyâsa)* of the object, which has as its province the re-"presentation of the Thou, and its qualities, to the pure "spiritual subject, which has as its province the representation "of the I, and conversely, that the transfer of the subject and "its qualities to the object, is inferentially false. Yet in "mankind this process, resting on false knowledge *(mithyâ-"jñana-nimitta)* of pairing together the true and untrue [that "is, subjective and objective] is inborn *(naisargika)*, so that "they transfer the being and qualities of the one to the other, "not separating object and subject, although they are absolute-"ly different *(atyanta-vivikta)* and so saying, for example: "'This is I,' 'That is mine.'"† However this transference be defined, (p. 12, 1-14,3) in any case it results in this, that qualities of one thing appear in another, as when mother-of-pearl is taken for silver, or when two moons are seen instead of one (p. 14, 3-5). This erroneous transference of the things and relations of the objective world to the inner Soul, the Self in the strictest sense of the word, is possible because the soul also is, in a certain sense, object, namely, object of the representation of the I, and, as our author here affirms, in no sense

* *Yushmad-asmat-pratyaya-gochara;* Banerjea translates: "*indicated by the second and first personal pronouns,*" and so p. 15, 2 *asmat-pratyaya-vishayatvat:* "*because it (the Soul) is the object of the first personal pronoun,*' which, however, gives us no clear meaning, for only representations, not pronouns, have objects. The soul is therefore subject *(vishayin)*, yet not (empiric) subject of knowledge as which the *aham pratyayin* (that is, *manas* to distinguish from *ahamkartar)* figures, to which the soul again stands opposed as object *(vishaya)*, *c. f.*, the passages in Remarks 29 and 30, and further in the course of the work (Chap XXVII, 3).

† By this the objective, *e. g.*, the body, is sometimes treated as subject, sometimes as a quality of it. As explanation the following passage may serve, p. 20, 8: "As one is accustomed, when it goes ill or well with his son or wife and the like, "to say, 'it goes ill or well with me,' and thus transfers the qualities of outer "things to the Self (soul, *âtman)* [cf p. 689, 3 ff], in just the same way he transfers "the qualities of the body, when he says: 'I am fat, I am thin, I am white, "I stand, I go, I leap,' and similarly the qualities of the sense organs when he "says: 'I am dumb, impotent, deaf, one-eyed, blind,' and similarly the qualities of the "inner organ [*antah karana-manas* cf. 2, 3, 32], desire, wish, doubt, resolution and "the like;—thus also he transfers the representative of I *(aham-pratyayin)* to the "inner soul, present solely as witness *(sâkshin)* of the personal tendencies, and "conversely the witness of all, the inner soul, to the inner organ and the rest" [that is, to the sense organs, the body and the objects of the outer world].

something transcendent, lying beyond the province of perception *(parokṣham)*.*

"This transference, thus made, the wise indicate as *nescience* "*(avidyâ)*, and, in contradistinction to it, they call the accurate "determination of the own nature of things" (*vastu-svarûpam*, "the being-in-itself of things, as we would say) science or "wisdom *(vidyâ)*. If this be so, it follows that that to which a "[similar, false] transfer is thus made, is not in the slightest "degree affected by any want or excess caused thereby" (p. 16, 1-4).

The object of knowledge, the soul, thus remains, as made clear in these words, entirely unaltered, no matter whether we rightly understand this, or not. From this we must conclude that the ground of the erroneous empiric concept is to be sought for solely in the knowing subject; in this the avidyâ, as repeatedly (p. 10, 1. 21, 7. 807, 12) asserted, is innate *naisargika)*; the cause of it is an incorrect perception (it is *mithyâjñâna-nimitta*, p. 9, 3); its being is an incorrect representation (*mithyâ pratyaya-svarûpa*, p. 21, 7); all these expressions point to the fact that the last basis of the false empiric concept is to be sought—where, however, the Vêdanta did not seek it—in the natural character of our knowing faculty An analysis of this, as Kant undertook it, would in fact give the true scientific foundation of the Vedânta system; and it is to be hoped that the Indians, whose orthodox dogmatics, holding good still at the present day, we here set forth, will accept the teachings of the 'Critique of Pure Reason," when it is brought to their knowledge, with grateful respect †

* P 14, 5: 'Question. but how is it possible to transfer to the inner soul, which "is yet no object, the qualities of objects? For everyone transfers, [only] to one "object standing before him, another object and of the inner soul thou declarest "that it is cut off from the representation of Thou [not-I] and no object [I read "with Govinda. *avishayatvam*]—Answer. It is still not in every sense not "Object; for it is the object of the representation of the I" [*asmat-pratyaya vishaya*]; taken strictly and according to p 78, 6 cf 73, 5, 672, 1, not the *sâkshin*, but only the *kartar*, that is, the individual soul already endowed with objective qualities, is *aham pratyaya-vishaya*]; 'and the [whole] acceptance of an inner soul "rests on this, that it is not transcendent *(apâroksha)*. It is also not necessary "that the object, to which we transfer another object, should stand before us; "as, for instance, when foolish people transfer to space *(âkâsha)*, which is not an "object of perception, the dark colour of the ground, and the like. In just the "some way is it possible to transfer to the soul what is not soul."

† Also Kant's axiom that the transcendental ideality of the world does not exclude its empiric reality, finds its full analogy in the concepts of Shankara: cf p 448, 6: "All empiric tendency is true, so long as the knowledge of the soul is not reached, "just as the tendencies in dream, before awaking occurs As long in fact as the "knowledge of unity with the true Self is not reached, so long one has not a con-"sciousness of the unreality of the process resting on the rules and objects of knowledge and the fruit of works, but every creature, under the designation of 'I' and 'mine,' takes mere transformations for the Self and for characteristics of the Self, 'and on the other hand leaves out of consideration their original Brahman-Self-'hood; therefore before the consciousness of identity with Brahman awakes, all 'wordly and Vedic practices are justified"

On the soil of this natural nescience stands, according to Shankara, all human knowledge, with the exception of the metaphysics of the Vedânta; thus, not only the empiric thought, that is, thought by means of the sense-organs, or habitual life, but also the whole ritual canon of the Veda, with its things commanded and forbidden under promise of reward and punishment in another world (p. 16, 4—17, 1).

The immediate ground on which both worldly and Vedic practice must be referred to the sphere of nescience, lies in this, that both are not free from the delusion *(abhimâna)* of seeing the I in the embodied; for neither knowledge nor action is possible unless one considers the sense-organs and the body manifesting them as belonging to the Self,* and the ritual part of the Veda also cannot but transfer many circumstances of the outer world erroneously to the Soul.†

A further ground for the inadequacy of all empiric knowledge is, that it is only distinguished from that of animals in degree, through higher evolution *(vyut-patti)*, but in kind is similar to it, so far as, like it, it is wholly subservient to egoism, which impels us to seek for what is desired and to avoid what is not desired; and it makes no difference here whether these egoistic aims, as in the case of worldly impulses, reach their realisation already in this life, or, as in the case of the works ordained by the Vedas, only in a future existence, thus presupposing a knowledge of it. Quite otherwise the Vedânta, which, on the contrary, leaves the whole sphere of desire behind, turns its back on all differences of position in outer life (even if, as we shall see, not quite consistently), and raises itself to the knowledge that the Soul is in reality not the least involved in the circle of transmigration *(samsâra)*. ‡ For all those laws of empiric knowledge

* P. 17, 2: "But how is it possible that the means of knowledge, perception "and the rest, and the [ritual] books of doctrine are found in the province of nes-"cience?—Answer: Because without the delusion that 'I' and 'mine' consist "in the body, sense-organs, and the like, no knower can exist, and consequently "a use of the means of knowledge is not possible. For without calling in the aid of "the sense-organs, there can be no activity of perception, but the action of the "sense-organs is not possible without a resting place [the body], and no action "at all is possible without transferring the being of the Self (the Soul, *âtman*) to "the body, and without all this taking place no action of knowing is possible for "the soul, which is independent [reading *a sangasya*] [of embodied existence]. But "without the action of knowing, no knowing can proceed. Consequently, the means "of knowledge, perception and the rest, as well as the books of doctrine [mentioned] "belong to the province of nescience."

† P. 20, 5: "For when it is said, for example: 'Let the Brahman offer,' "the like ordinances rest on the fact of transferring the castes, Ashramas, ages of "life and similar differences to the soul; this transference is, as we have said, the "assertion that something is where it is not."

‡ The interesting passage which gives us an insight into the Indian concept of the difference between man and animals, reads in its entirety as follows, (p. 18, 4 ff): —"For this reason also" [wordly and Vedic knowledge belongs

and action are valid for us only so long as we are held by the nescience, resting on a false transference, which nature imposes on us, of which it is said in conclusion (p. 21, 7): "Thus it "stands with this beginningless, endless, innate transference, "which according to its being is a false affirmation, producing "all the conditions of doing and enjoying [or suffering] and "forming the [natural] methods of concept of all men. To "remove this, the root of the evil, and to teach the science "of the unity of the soul,—this is the aim of all the texts of "the Vedânta."*

This aim the Vedânta reaches by separating from the soul (the Self, *âtman*) everything that is not soul, not Self, and is only transferred thereto falsely, thus, in a word, all *upâdhis*, or individualised determinations, clothed in which (*upahitam* 163, 9. 690, 5. 739, 7) Brahman appears as individual soul. Such Upâdhis are: (1) all things and relations of the outer world (cf. remark 29), (2) the body, consisting of the gross elements, (3) the *Indriyas*, that is the five sense-organs and five organs of action of the body, represented as separate existences, (4) *Manas*, also called the inner organ (*antahkaranam*), the central organ for the sense-organs as well as for the organs of action, in the first relation closely approaching what we call under-

to the province of nescience], because [thereby] no difference is made between 'man and animals. For just as the animals, when, for instance, a sound 'strikes their ears, in case the perception of the sound is disagreeable to them, 'move away from it, and in case it is agreeable, move towards it—as, when they 'see a man with an upraised stick before them thinking: 'He will strike me,' "they try to escape, and when they see one with a handful of fresh grass, approach, "him [one sees that when the Indian speaks of an animal, he thinks of a cow, "somewhat as we think of a dog]: just so men also whose knowledge is more "evolved (*vyutpanna chittah*), when they perceive strong men of terrible aspect, "with drawn swords in their hands, turn away from them, and turn towards the "contrary.—Thus with reference to the means and condition of knowledge, the "process in men and animals is alike. Of course in the case of animals the "activity of perception, and the like, goes on without previous (1) judgment; "but, if one watches its similarity, the activity of perception and the like, even "in the case of [spiritually] evolved (*vyutpatti matâm*) men, for the time "[of false knowledge] is distinctly the same; and if the performance of works "according to the scriptural canon is permitted only to one who has gained "insight (*buddhi*), and not to one who has not recognised the connection of the "soul with the other world, yet for this permission it is not imperative that one "[has recognised] the truth to be taught by the Vedânta, leaving behind "hunger and the other [desires], turning away from the difference between "Brahmans, warriors and the rest, concerning the soul freed from *samsâra*. "For this truth does not agree with the injunction [the work of sacrifice], but "rather is in contradiction to it. And while the canon of ordinances [only] comes "into force for this degree of knowledge of the soul, it does not rise above "the province of nescience.

* Cf. for the teaching as to Avidya also the following passages: p 98, 8. 112, 3. 182, 12. 185, 12. 199, 5 205, 10 343, 4. 360, 2. 433, 13. 452, 2. 455, 4. 473, 17. 483, 6. 507, 1. 660, 10. 680, 12. 682, 3. 689, 1. 690, 5. 692, 14. 787, 13. 804, 1. 807, 11. 837, 2. 860, 15. 1056, 1. 1132, 10. 1133, 12. 1133, 15.

standing, and in the latter what we call will, the unified principle of conscious life, as (5) the *Mukhyaprâna* with its five off shoots, is the unified principle of unconscious life, subserving nutrition.—All this, of which more in our psychological part, metaphysics cuts away, in order to retain the soul, that is, the real Self or I, which is present as witness *(sâkshin)* of all individual tendencies, but itself only apparently individualised by the Upâdhis, is on the contrary in reality identical with the highest godhead, and, like this, is pure spiritual nature, pure consciousness (*châitanya*).

And here we touch the basic want of the Vedânta system, which, among other things, makes it deficient, that it has no proper morality, however near it this, in its purest form, lay. * Rightly the Vedânta recognises, as the sole source by which we may reach true knowledge, true apprehension of being-in itself, our own I, but wrongly halts at the form in which it directly appeals to our consciousness, as a knower, even after it has cut away the whole intellectual apparatus, and attached it to the not I, the world of appearances, even after it has also, very rightly, indicated as the dwelling of the highest soul, not, as Descartes did, the head (about which Brh. 2, 2 treats), but the heart.

Meanwhile, as we shall see, the spiritual (*châitanya*) is, in our system, a potency which lies at the root of all motion and change in nature, which is therefore also ascribed, for example, to plants, and means thus rather the capacity of reaction against outer influences, a potency which, in its highest potentiality, reveals itself as man's capacity for knowing, as spirit.

* The principle "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν ['Love thy neighbour as thyself'] is an immediate consequence of the basic concept of the Vedânta, as the following verses of the *Bhagavadgîtâ* (13, 27-28) may show:—

"This highest Godhead standing in all being,
"Lives, though this die who sees this, he is seeing,
"And he who every where the highest God has found,
"Will not wound self through self. . . ."

ART. VIII.—SANITATION IN BENGAL JAILS.

THE extraordinary success that has lately attended the introduction of certain sanitary precautions into the Hooghly District Jail, resulting in the entire cessation of dysentery, and some other diseases, and the marked improvement in the general health of the prisoners, leads me to believe that the adoption of similar measures in other unhealthy jails in Bengal, would eventuate in equally beneficial results. In the Hooghly Jail, the growth of dysentery has completely stopped for the past two months. This happy result is the more marked, when it is remembered that, during the autumn months, dysentery is more prevalent than during other parts of the year, and that lately, among the general population of the town, dysentery was exceptionally prevalent and fatal. Other diseases, besides dysentery, which are common in many unhealthy jails in Bengal, have also stopped ; in fact, at the present time, out of a population of about 400 prisoners, there are only two persons in the Jail Hospital. The means adopted to secure this desirable end are so simple and so easy of accomplishment, that they might well be introduced with similar beneficial results, not only into other unhealthy jails, but also into asylums, factories, and, with modifications, even into thickly-populated portions of towns.

During the past ten years, the advantages of good sanitation have begun to be recognized by the educated portion of the residents in Bengal, both European and Native. Many of the mists, however, of superstition and prejudice, still obscure and thwart the introduction and spread of measures calculated to alleviate human suffering and to lower death-rates in the country generally ; and this is especially noticeable in towns, where the increasing density of the population, renders the introduction of sanitary precautions against disease, more imperative than in the rural portions of the Province.

The measures taken to mitigate disease, and to lower death-rates, are closely watched with unsympathetic eyes by the inhabitants, and are subjected to severe criticism. This is naturally to be expected in a country like India, where the present customs have existed for so many generations, and where changes, for the most part, are looked upon with disfavour ; it will, therefore, be desirable for many years to come, for sanitarians to direct their energies specially to the improvement of urban populations, and to other closely-packed groups of persons, such as those connected with factories and mills, and those confined in public institutions, such as asylums and

jails. In fact, the sanitary measures adopted in these places should act as object lessons, in demonstrating to the people in general the advantages of good sanitation. The absolute necessity for this course will be at once recognized by anyone accustomed to mix freely with the people as I have done.

In this article I wish to confine my remarks principally to the means by which the general health of prisoners, confined in Bengal Jails, may be improved, and the death-rate reduced to about one-third its present rate, or, in other words, to about 14·15 per mille, and that without increasing the general expenditure, or interfering in any way with discipline, which we all admit must be maintained. Under the system I advocate, not only will discipline be upheld, but the deterrent character of the employment on which the prisoners are engaged, may be increased ; in fact, I have lately been able to recommend to the Jail authorities that the work on which the prisoners are engaged should be made of a more laborious, and, consequently, deterrent character.

I have had special opportunities for studying thoroughly the subject of jail sanitation, as not only have I been able to watch closely for years the habits and customs of the people from whom the Bengal Jail population is recruited, but also, for many years previous to my holding the appointment of Sanitary Commissioner, I acted, in addition to other duties, as Superintendent of a large District Jail, and two years ago I was a member of a Committee which, at the instance of the Government of India, was appointed to inquire into the causes of the excessive mortality that existed in certain Bengal Jails. At that time I submitted proposals which, when adopted, as no doubt they will be in time, will result in the general improvement of the health of the jail population. I have been fortunate in lately obtaining an opportunity of demonstrating the practical applicability of the measures I then advocated, and the advantages that may be derived from them, as, three months ago, on completing my term as Sanitary Commissioner, I was appointed, in addition to other duties, to be Superintendent of the Hooghly District Jail, which has an average population of about 400 prisoners.

The general health of the prisoners, when I took charge, was bad, there were a large number in hospital, and an epidemic of dysentery had commenced. Within less than a month from the time of my taking charge, the general health had wonderfully improved and dysentery had entirely ceased, although up to that time there had been 121 cases of dysentery and diarrhœa in the jail, out of a total, from all causes, of 235, since the 1st January 1895. As dysentery has been prevalent among the outside population during the latter months

of the year, the immunity of the jail population from this disease is the more marked, and clearly demonstrates that it is really preventable.

I will now draw attention to the death-rates that have been recorded in Bengal Jails, the death-rate of the general population from which the jail population is recruited, and the probable normal death-rate (14·15 per mille) that must occur in jails. I will then point out the very simple measures which I have adopted, and with entire success, in lowering the excessive death-rate in the Hooghly Jail. In the last report issued by the Jail Department, an interesting summary is given of the average death-rates for the past fifty years, in which it is shown that the mortality among prisoners ranged from 60·3 per mille in 1844 to 47·1 per mille in 1894. I am afraid this latter rate must still be considered excessive.

With regard to the death-rate among the general population in Bengal, Mr. G. F. Hardy, to whom the Census tables of 1881 were submitted by Sir W. Plowden, arrrived at the conclusion that, in the Lower Provinces, the death-rate was 39·9 per mille (*see* Bengal Census Report for 1891, page 164). Mr. J. A. Baines, in his general report of the Census of India for 1891, page 61, states that the average death-rate for all India may be taken at 41 per mille. Mr. O'Donnell, in his Census Report for Bengal for 1891, page 168, states that "Northern Bengal may be regarded as presenting an average death-rate" for the Province, *viz.*, 42·4 per mille. Let us accept this as the correct death-rate. From these figures we can easily calculate the death-rate that should take place among prisoners, provided that deaths occurred among them in the same proportion as in the outside population. It is an acknowledged fact that, between the ages of nine and fifty, the death-rates per mille, living at each group of ages, is much lower than the death-rate for all ages. It is evident, therefore, that an unusually large portion of persons living (as in Jails) at these ages would be a cause of low mortality. Now, in Bengal Jails there are no persons under nine years of age, and very few above fifty years of age; with regard to this last statement, I desire to quote the following remarks from Mr. Baines' Census Report of India for 1891, page 274:—"There is no doubt that an habitual over-statement of age amongst the old of both sexes is common, as great age is considered a sort of distinction;" and again (page 277) "we may sum up the main features of the age distribution of the Indian population as consisting in the exceptionally high proportion of the young, with a very small proportion of those past fifty." "It will appear that this is due to a remarkably high birth rate, accompanied by great mortality amongst infants, and those past

the prime of life." The death-rate in the outside population of persons between the ages of 10-50 (which correspond with the ages of persons who form the jail population, as will be seen from Mr. O'Donnell's Table VII, page 168 of Vol. III, of the Census Report for Bengal for 1891) is 20·97, or, in round numbers, 21 per mille. The death-rate, therefore, in jails, provided that the prisoners are subject to the same conditions as regards food, water, &c., as the outside population, should not exceed this rate 21 per mille). But there is no reason that I can see why the adoption of suitable sanitary precautions should not be able to lower this rate by at least one-third; it has been done in European Jails, and it might well be done in India. By this mode of reasoning, we are enabled to fix the probably correct average death-rate for Bengal Jails at 14·15 per mille. As the prisoners in Central Jails are picked from among the healthy in District Jails, we would naturally expect the death-rate to be lower in the Central Jails, than in the District Jails; possibly the death-rate in Central Jails should not exceed 12 per mille, and in District Jails 17·18 per mille.

The practical questions then are, what are the causes of the present excessive death-rate in our jails? And what measures should be adopted to prevent the action of these causes? I believe that it will be generally conceded that these causes are cholera, dysentery, diarrhœa, pneumonia, and debility (the result of the abovementioned diseases).

The measures by which these diseases may be prevented are extremely simple; they should, however, be systematically carried out, for the omission of anyone of them will undoubtedly result sooner or later in the collapse of the whole scheme. These measures may be comprised under the following heads:—

1. Disinfection and clearing of the water-supply.
2. The supply of a more nutritious diet, especially as regards albuminates, salt, and oils.
3. Improvement of ventilation.
4. Entire prohibition of the cultivation of succulent vegetables within the jail enclosure.
5. Careful disinfection of all excreta, drains, clothing, and the air of wards, etc.
6. Sufficient clothing.
7. Daily allowance to all prisoners of a small quantity of oil to rub their bodies with before bathing, as is the general custom in Bengal.

The water-supply for the Hooghly Jail is a typical one; it is at present drawn from a contaminated source, being taken from a "back-water" of the river Hooghly, and about 100 yards lower down the river than the opening of a sewer (steps

are being taken to remove the intake to a point above the sewer); the water is pumped up from this source, into two large open tanks, in which it is at once disinfected and cleared by means of quick lime; it is then, after two days' rest, allowed to run through sand filters into a reservoir from which it is drawn when required for use.

In fixing the amount of food necessary for prisoners, it is well to consider the amount used by the outside population from which these prisoners are recruited. In August, last year, I had occasion, while enquiring into the cause of the excessive mortality in certain unhealthy tracts in Bengal, to examine and weigh the food ordinarily used by the people. I visited a large number of villages, and got the villagers themselves to bring the food usually consumed by them, which I carefully weighed. Much interest was taken by the people in these weighments. The different articles used at the three meals of the day were placed in separate groups and then weighed; the amount of each kind of food used was within the limits given in the following lable :—

7 to 8 A.M.—		Ounces.
	Rice	10 —11
	Vegetables ...	6 — 7
	Salt ..	
	Tamarind	
	Oil (mustard)	
	Onions or chillies	
11 to 12 NOON—		Ounces.
	Rice	15 —17
	Peas	2 — 6
	Vegetables ...	11 —14
	Fish	2 — 6
	Salt	½
	Oil (mustard) ...	½— 1
	Tamarind ...	½— ¾
	Chillies or onions and spices	½— 1
8 to 9 P.M.—		Ounces,
	Rice	15 —17
	Peas	2 — 4½
	Vegetables ...	11 —14
	Fish	2 — 6
	Salt	½
	Oil (mustard) ...	½— 1
	Tamarind ...	½— ¾
	Chillies or onions and spices	½— 1

Allowance must be made for the extremely succulent character of the vegetables used. I found that, when milk and curds were used, a less quantity of peas and fish was taken. If the amounts given in the above table are compared with the food tables given in Parkes' Hygiene, it will be seen that the people

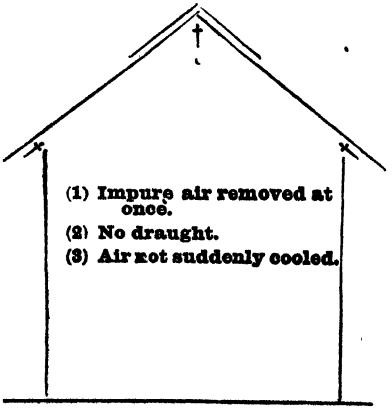
of these tracts have a sufficient and complete diet. The following table shows the amount of food allowed to the prisoners in the Hooghly Jail when I took over charge at the end of August last :—

6 A.M.—	Ounces.
Rice	4
Salt	$\frac{1}{8}$
Peas	2
11 A.M.—	**Ounces.**
Rice	11
Peas	2
Vegetables ...	3
Salt	$\frac{5}{16}$
Oil	$\frac{1}{4}$
Condiments ...	$\frac{1}{8}$
Tamarind ...	$\frac{1}{4}$
5 P.M.—	**Ounces.**
Rice	11
Peas	2
Vegetables ...	3
Salt	$\frac{5}{16}$
Oil	$\frac{1}{4}$
Condiments ...	$\frac{1}{8}$
Tamarind ...	$\frac{1}{4}$

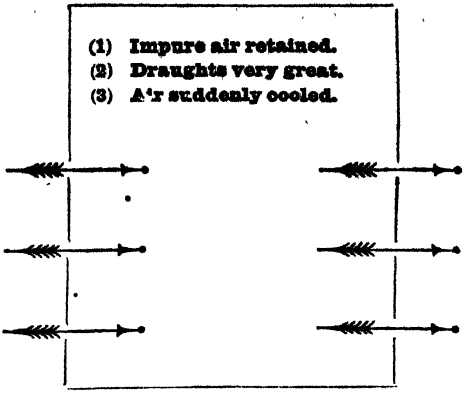
About six times in the month they got 2 ounces of fish in lieu of 2 ounces of peas. It will be noted that the albuminates, oils and salt are deficient in this scale. Since I took over charge of the jail, the prisoners have been allowed diet approximating to the amounts used by the villagers as mentioned in the first table.

With regard to ventilation, I would observe that, though the jail buildings are substantially built and dry, the ventilation is defective. The following sketches will illustrate my meaning :—

A.



B.



A is a sketch of an ordinary Bengali house, in which ventilation is as perfect as it can possibly be. Impure air is at once removed ; there are no draughts, and the air in the rooms is not suddenly cooled. Sketch B represents a section of an ordinary prison barrack, in which the foul air is retained in the upper portion of the chamber, the draughts are very great, and the air of the ward is unnecessarily cooled. There is no doubt that the bad ventilation of dormitories of this kind is one of the principal exciting causes of the excessive sickness and deaths from respiratory disease in unhealthy jails during the cold season. The impure character of the air in the wards is very evident to any one entering the room before the prisoners are let out in the morning. There are ceiling ventilators in the wards of the Hooghly Jail, but they are not sufficient to secure proper ventilation ; measures have been adopted to improve, as far as possible, the ventilation in the wards by keeping permanently open the upper venetians.

The cultivation of vegetables within the jail enclosure, necessitating as it does irrigation and manuring, has a tendency to render the wards damp, and, consequently, unhealthy. The practice has been entirely stopped, which has no doubt helped to render the jail more healthy.

With regard to disinfection, it has been found that the burning of all excrementitious matter is the most effectual method. The disinfection of the air of the wards by chlorine gas developed from common salt, black oxide of manganese, and sulphuric acid has been found most satisfactory.

To ensure that the prisoners are kept sufficiently warm at night, two to four blankets are allowed to each prisoner, according to the state of his health.

I look upon the daily supply of a small quantity of mustard oil to the prisoners, for rubbing their bodies at the time of bathing, as essentially necessary.

I have no doubt that, when the people of Bengal come to understand, which they quickly will do, how much sickness and preventable death may be avoided by such simple precautions as those mentioned above, they will adapt them to the requirements of their homes, and, consequently, not only the death-rate in our jails will be reduced, but the general health of the community will be improved.

W. H. GREGG,

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THE QUARTER.

THE change of Government in England has been followed by a complete lull in Party politics, and, as far as can be judged from the speeches delivered by either side during the recess, the approaching Session of Parliament seems likely to be both a busy and an unusually quiet one. The Unionist leaders have shown no disposition to provoke controversy by a premature disclosure of the Government programme; but what has been said on the subject, points to the probability of their dealing with the questions of the amendment of the Irish Land Act, the relief of agriculture, voluntary education, employers' liability, and, perhaps, the government of London.

It is to the Turkish question that all eyes have been turned throughout the period under review. After undergoing what seemed to be a marked improvement, the situation has lately become more menacing than ever. By the abandonment, on the part of Lord Salisbury's Government, of that portion of the British demands which France and Russia declined to support, the concert of the three Powers has been restored, and the members of the Triple Alliance have since joined it. On the other hand, the acceptance by the Sultan of the demands of the Powers has been the signal for a series of frightful massacres, not only of Armenians, but of other Christians. In some of the earlier cases, in which the former were the victims, notably in Constantinople itself, the first provocation seems to have come from the Armenians; but in others there is no doubt that the massacres have been as wanton as they were brutal; and there is strong reason for suspecting that they have been instigated by the Palace clique, into whose hands the Sultan has completely fallen. In spite of earnest protestations of his determination to carry out the promised reforms and use every effort to restore order, the Sultan has shown no disposition to appoint men who might be depended on to act with energy for the purpose. On the contrary, at the instance of the clique in question, he has dismissed Kiamil Pacha and his colleagues, and replaced them by ministers said to be without prestige, authority, or self-reliance. In view of the state of anarchy prevailing, the Powers have submitted identical notes to the Porte warning it that, unless effectual steps are taken to restore order, they will be compelled to interfere for the purpose. They have since demanded firmans from the Sultan to allow them to double their guardships at the capital, but with this demand, which

was made three weeks ago, and has been peremptorily repeated, the Sultan has not yet complied, and, at the time of writing, the latest information is that further action on the part of the Powers is imminent. The state of affairs is such that it is difficult to believe that decisive action would not have been taken long ago if the Powers were agreed as to the character it should assume.

The Ribot Ministry in France, having been defeated on a motion throwing doubt on their willingness to probe the Southern Railway scandal to the bottom and bring the guilty to justice without regard to personal considerations, have resigned, and have been succeeded by a Radical Ministry under M. Bourgeois, who have produced what the *Times* describes as a frankly Radical, and, in some measure, a Socialistic programme.

At the American "Fall" Elections, the Republicans have been generally victorious; but it is admitted on all hands that the silver question has had no effect on the result, and, indeed, that, for the present at least, it is practically dead. In New York the influence of beer in politics has received one more striking illustration in the return of the Tammany candidate, the party of reform, which would otherwise have commanded a large majority, having been foolish enough to tack temperance on to their programme, thus alienating the sympathies of sensible men, and especially of the large German element in the electorate.

The King of Ashanti having failed to accept the British ultimatum, requiring him to fulfil his treaty engagements to abstain from attacking the neighbouring tribes, and to receive a British Resident at his capital, it has been determined to send an expedition to Koomassie, consisting of 700 Houssa troops, 400 men of the West India Regiment at Sierra Leone, and 300 picked men from various corps in England, to bring him to his senses.

The Madagascar expedition has resulted in the complete submission of the Hovas and the establishment of a French protectorate.

The profound calm that has fallen upon the political world at Home since the advent of the Conservatives to power, might almost seem to have been reflected in the complete dearth of excitement which has characterised the past three months in India.

The expeditionary force has been withdrawn from Chitral and the intervening country without hindrance from the tribes, or serious mishap of any kind, and the aspect of affairs on our North-Western frontier is unusually peaceful, while, at the opposite extremity of the Empire, the only warlike or semi-warlike enterprises on hand, are a small expedition against the

Sana Kachins and a demonstration against the Lushai Chief, Kairuma. But for the dispute between the two sections of the Congress party over the question of the loan of the Congress Hall at Poona to the promoters of the Social Conference, which at one time threatened to make the holding of the annual meeting at that place impossible, but has now, it is said, been composed, the Viceregal tour and the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta would be almost the only events of the period that called for more than passing comment.

The dispute in question was the outcome of an agitation against the Reform movement, which was sedulously fostered by certain prominent members of the Congress party, into whose hands Mr. Tilak, one of the joint-Secretaries of the Working Committee seems to have played, by seceding from the Committee and forming a separate Working Committee of his own, composed of anti-reformers. The bone of contention has, however, been removed by an act of renunciation on the part of the promoters of the Social Conference, who have decided, in the interests of peace, to hold their annual meeting elsewhere.

The Viceroy's tour has taken him over some of the most interesting historic ground in India, and has included Agra, Gwalior, Bhopal, the caves of Ellora, Poona, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore, Trichinopoly, Seringapatam, Madura and Madras. Lord Elgin having hitherto shown no disposition to avail himself of the opportunity of these journeyings to take the public into his confidence, his footsteps are not followed by them with palpitating interest. At Poona, however, he made the nearest approach to a confession of political faith of which he has yet been guilty, the occasion being an address presented to him by the Sarvajanik Sabha of that place. Among other controversial subjects dealt with by the Sabha was that of the re-settlement of the Land Revenue, which is, at the present moment, causing considerable agitation in both Bombay and Madras, and they appear to have complained of the severity with which the new assessments bear upon the people. On this the Viceroy, after commenting on the inconvenience of dealing with such large questions on these occasions, went on to remark that he thought that, if he had the time and opportunity, he could produce facts and figures which would show that at no time in the history of India had the State demand for a share of the produce of the land been so moderate as it is at present. At the same time he assured the Sabha that the views they had expressed would be carefully considered in the course of the enquiries which the Government was instituting, and he trusted that, when those enquiries were completed, the Government of India might be in a position to introduce legislation on the subject, which would be based on the same general principle as the Forest

Resolution of which they had spoken so appreciatively, viz. that "while we conserve the due rights of the State, we do all we can to protect the rights and interests of that great class of cultivators on whom the prosperity of most countries, and of none more than India, depends."

His Excellency also referred, on the same occasion, to the Jury Bill which is pending in the Legislative Council. "I cannot help thinking," he said, "that a wholly disproportionate excitement has been got up over this matter. I gather that you, at all events, assent unreservedly to the recommendations of the Jury Commission, and acknowledge, therefore, that reforms are desirable in the law. On one point there is admittedly great difference of opinion. If the Government had ignored that point and left it out of the Bill, this difference of opinion, and all the consequences that result from it, would have remained. The Government thought it better that this point should be carefully and deliberately considered in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. As the Honourable Member who introduced the Bill stated at the time, that is the object with which the Government have introduced this particular provision; and I venture to hope that, by the co-operation of all who take an interest in the due and efficient, but still conservative, administration of the law, the result of the discussion in the Council will be to put it into a shape which will meet with the approval of your Sabha, as well as of the rest of the community."

Speaking, again, with reference to the differences of the Hindus and Mahomedans in connexion with the music rules for religious and other processions, he said it had proved very difficult to ascertain all the varieties of custom in these matters found in different places, and, under these circumstances, he did not see how it would be possible, indeed, he was not sure that in any case it would be justifiable, to do otherwise than hold the police authorities to the responsibility which falls upon them for the preservation of the Queen's peace.

It will, we think, be generally felt that there was a great deal in these utterances which may be regarded as re-assuring, not only by the ryots of Bombay and Madras, but by all classes of the community, and not the least re-assuring part of them was, the stress laid by the Viceroy on the necessity of a conservative administration of the law.

In replying to the address of the Municipal Corporation of the same place, His Excellency took occasion to enter a protest against the growing tendency to abuse the opportunity offered by addresses of this kind, by making them vehicles for the expression of the views of their authors on the general policy of the Government. The time His Excellency could afford to spend in any one place during his tours being, he said, necessarily short,

it was of primary importance to consider how he could best utilise it. One of the best ways in which he could do so was by meeting face to face the representatives of local bodies. In the second place, such opportunities should be used for the purpose of calling attention to special questions of local interest. "I think, therefore," continued His Excellency, "that the addresses presented to a Viceroy on occasions of this kind must aim at two principal objects. In the first place they give an opportunity for those courteous greetings which, if you are willing to receive him, and the Viceroy is willing to come, will be readily exchanged; in the second place they are fit occasions on which to put on record the special questions which those who know local interests best, consider of the most consequence. I am well aware that there are other questions of greater and graver interest, which concern not merely the locality, but the community at large. I wish to point out that this is an inconvenient opportunity for discussing questions of that kind. I assert with some confidence that to give their true value to general statements made by bodies, however representative, when they deal with a controversial topic in a short and summary manner, you must have full knowledge of the discussions that preceded the conclusion, or a full opportunity of discussing them at the time; and, on the other hand, it is a painful, if not intolerable, position that a man, replying to a welcome should be called upon to controvert facts, or challenge fallacies, which he cannot accept, but equally cannot altogether ignore. Therefore, I think, it is more convenient that in the case of these larger questions of which I have spoken, if a representation to the Government is desirable, it should be made in a form that will ensure for it a full consideration and a reasoned and deliberate reply."

Over the annual celebration of the feast of Saint Andrew in Calcutta, the shadow of Sir Charles Elliott's imminent retirement from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal hung large. But if, under its influence, the after-dinner oratory assumed a shape not altogether in harmony with the occasion, there was compensation, for all but the most frivolous, in the instructive and interesting account of his stewardship with which the Lieutenant-Governor, at the invitation of Mr. Henderson, favoured those present.

Reviewing the history of the trade of the port during the past five years, the speaker drew attention to some features which may fairly be regarded as cause for congratulation. Thus he showed that the statistics of cotton imports lent no colour to the complaints of Manchester regarding the effect of the recently imposed duties, the imports of the past year having exceeded those of any previous year except 1893, while those of the current year promised to be the largest on record.

Other points were, that, while the imports during the five years had remained practically stationary, the exports had increased from thirty-five to forty-five crores, and while local production was, to some extent, supplementing the imports of necessaries, those of luxuries showed a tendency to increase.

Referring to the Kidderpore Docks, Sir Charles Elliott informed his hearers that a project was before the Port Commissioners, under which all export cargo would be taken in at the Docks, and which, if approved, would result in a near approach to equilibrium ; and to this he added the welcome intelligence that the Government of India had received favourably a proposal to postpone the Sinking Fund, and had hinted that there was some hope of a reduction in the rate of interest.

Turning to the subject of railway communications, Sir Charles entered into a defence of his opposition to the proposal for an independent line of railway to connect Calcutta with the North-West Provinces and Oudh, which will probably not generally be considered convincing. "My view," he said, "has been that a single railway system is sufficient to carry all the traffic which now presents itself, or is likely to present itself for the next twenty years, and that it is more advantageous to the trade of Calcutta that capital should be expended in developing the feeder communications and enlarging the rolling-stock and the number of tracks on that system, than in constructing a rival with a greater mileage and inferior gradients. Mr. Henderson has referred to my past connection with the Public Works Department as giving me some right to form an opinion on this subject, and I confess that my experience in India, and my study of the working of the principle of unlimited competition in America, have not been favourable to the proposed scheme. America has taught us that competition generally ends in combination, and my belief is that if a rival line were constructed, we should soon see the two systems enter into an agreement to pool their earnings, and then the trade of Calcutta would have to pay freights sufficient to cover the working expenses and dividends of two railways, though it could all be carried by one."

This defence, however, seems to ignore the fact that the contention of the mercantile community is, that the single railway system has already, for many years past, proved itself actually insufficient to cope satisfactorily with the traffic, and that, as far as the lower portion of the system is concerned, the extensions now contemplated must necessarily aggravate this insufficiency.

On every other point Sir Charles Elliott was able to remind his hearers that he had supported the views of the local Chamber of Commerce, and that with excellent effect; that their united efforts had carried the connexion of Calcutta with the East Coast and Bengal and Nagpore Railways; that his

Government had supported the requirements of the Chamber as regards water communications with Eastern Bengal, and the construction of feeder lines and tramways, and that he had lately recommended to the Government of India projects covering a length of about 1,100 miles of broad gauge and 750 miles of narrow gauge line within the province, while projects extending to about 600 miles had been actually or virtually sanctioned.

Adverting to the recently appointed Labour Commission, Sir Charles dwelt on the mischief done by the competition for labourers between rival employers, and expressed a hope that conflict of interests would not stand in the way of the adoption of his suggestion for a central organisation for recruiting purposes. Alluding to the attempts that had been made by people in England to place obstacles in the way of Indian industries, by imposing unnecessary and vexatious restrictions on the labour employed in mines and factories, he claimed that, in resisting them, the Chamber of Commerce had been warmly supported by the Bengal Government, and that it had also co-operated in the same direction, by encouraging the purchase of stores manufactured in the country in preference to importing them from England for public purposes; and he expressed a hope that the time was not far distant when steel rails and wrought iron would be manufactured in India.

After referring to the steps taken to improve the Police administration of the province and the enlargement of the Legislative Council, and gratefully acknowledging the help received from the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association in its discussions, Sir Charles Elliott proceeded to review, with justifiable pride, the financial history of his Lieutenant-Governorship. "It is enough," he remarked, "to say that the province, which, five years ago, had a surplus of nearly five lakhs above the minimum balance it is required to retain, is estimated to end the present year with a surplus of twenty one lakhs, an estimate which I am in a position to say, is certain to be exceeded. While these figures are gratifying in themselves, it is still more gratifying to notice the processes by which they are realised. On the one hand, the income of the province has gone on steadily increasing, at the average rate of about eight lakhs a year, aud that not through the imposition of any new taxes or the discovery of any new sources of revenue; it has been the natural growth of the receipts under all heads, and mainly under the great departments of Stamps, Excise, and Railways, and is incontestably due to the increasing wealth and prosperity of the country. On the other hand, the expenditure, governed by principles of rigid economy, such as

were inculcated by the Finance Committee in which my honorable friend Sir J. Westland collaborated with me, hardly increased at all, except under the heads of Police and the compensation allowance due to fall of exchange, till the present year when, finding that funds were abundant, large outlay has been sanctioned on important Public Works. I venture to think that it is well to publish and emphasise such results as these in the face of the gloomy and pessimistic criticism to which our financial position in India has so persistently been subjected. Bengal is the only province of the Empire in which the assessment on the land is permanently fixed, so that that source of revenue cannot be materially augmented, and yet so wealthy and prosperous is it, that what may be called the by-products of finance, the results of indirect taxation, have brought about a yearly growth of 8 lakhs in the Provincial income, as well as about 12 lakhs in the share paid to the Imperial Government, and meanwhile the obligatory provincial expenditure has not increased by 4 lakhs a year. If we may assume that other provinces, in which the Land Revenue is temporarily assessed and is constantly growing, feed the central treasury at any thing like the same rate, that treasury is possessed of an assured elasticity of revenue which places it in a high position of financial security which nothing can disturb, except a catastrophic fall in exchange, or the calamity of war. No nation on the Continent of Europe produces budgets nearly as favourable as this five-year series of Bengal budgets has been : nor can they show results financially comparable to those of the Government of India. As long as this is is the case, we may fairly ask the gentlemen who write so glibly about the bankruptcy of India, to devote their attention to discusssing the bankruptcy of France, or Italy, or Germany, or Austria.

The Labour Commission, referred to in Sir Charles Elliott's speech, which has been appointed at the request of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and consists of Surgeon Lieut.-Col. D. W. D. Comins, Inspector-General of Jails, L. P. ; W. B. Gladstone Esq,, nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce ; H. C. Begg Esq., nominated by the Indian Tea Association ; C. W. Gray Esq., nominated by the Indian Mining Association, and Kumar Dakhineswar Malia, has been instructed to enquire into the extent of the labour requirements of the coal-mining industry, and the causes of the difficulty that has hitherto been experienced in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour for it ; the present condition of the districts in which the coal mines are situated, as regards healthiness, density of population, means of communication and the general industries of the people ; the terms

and conditions under which wages are earned and paid at the coal mines, as well as the collateral inducements offered by the coal industry to those who work in the coal-fields; the best means by which the advantages of the mining industry may be made known to the inhabitants of the congested districts of the North-Western Provinces and Behar, and the best systems under which labourers may be induced to proceed to the mining districts, and from what classes of a population such labour should be drawn, and to consider the question of the possibility of establishing one central agency through which alone all labourers, whether for coal-mining, tea-growing, or any other purposes, except colonial emigration, should be recruited, and, if this is possible, what the nature, constitution and powers of such an agency should be.

The general opinion among employers of labour appears to be against the practicability of the proposed central agency but this is possibly merely the reflection of a feeling of dislike to the levelling effect such a plan would have, tending, as it seemingly would, to place the poor or the indolent employer of labour on the same footing, as regards the procuring of recruits, as the wealthy or the energetic.

A Committee has been appointed by the Government of India to enquire into and report on the important question of the utilisation of indigenous drugs for medicinal purposes. It has also been determined to establish an Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory, under Mr. Hankin, at Agra, a situation in which, it is to be feared, the work of such an institution will be seriously handicapped by unfavourable climatic conditions; and the Government of India has under its consideration the question of a thorough re-organisation of the Sanitary Administration of the country, a tentative scheme for which has been submitted for the opinion of the Local Governments.

Numerous meetings have been held in various parts of the country, including Calcutta, to protest against the passing of the Legal Practitioners' Act Amendment Bill in its present form, opposition being directed mainly against the clause by which it is proposed to cast on the accused the burden of proving his innocence; and it is generally expected that, if the Bill is proceeded with, it will be modified in this and other particulars.

The Pilgrim Ships' Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, after extensive modification, on the 13th October, the amount of space to be allotted to the pilgrims on board being left to be regulated by the Government, and the provision requiring payment in advance of the Turkish quarantine fees being abandoned.

It has been announced, apparently on good authority, that

the provisions of the Jury Bill referring to special verdicts will be withdrawn.

In view of the large increase which has taken place in recent years in the minimum quantity of the paper currency circulation, the Government propose to seek Legislative authority to increase the amount of their investments in Government securities by two crores of rupees, and the opinion of the various Chambers of Commerce on the subject has been asked for.

The Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure met in London for the first time on the 5th November, and, after holding several sittings, has adjourned to February next. The witnesses examined have been Sir Auckland Colvin; Sir David Barbour; Sir Henry Waterfield; Mr. Stephen Jacob; General Newmarch; Mr. A. F. Becher; Sir C. Bernard and Mr. Godsell; but, as the public are excluded from the settings, nothing certain is known regarding the nature of the evidence recorded, which, however, is believed to have related chiefly to the mechanism of expenditure in England and India.

Among interesting public ceremonies of the quarter, we may mention the opening of the great Periyar Irrigation Project, by Lord Wenlock, on the 10th October, and that of the Umbala Water-works by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

Considerable anxiety, which is still far from having been wholly allayed, has been caused in Calcutta during the last few weeks by the state of the Hooghly, owing partly to the unusual deficiency of water in the river, and partly to the sudden formation, at the latter end of last month, of a formidable bar in the navigable channel of the James and Mary, which rendered it impassable for laden vessels of any size. An alternative channel has fortunately since opened, with a minimum depth of 13 to 17, and a high-water depth of 25 to 29 feet; but there seems to be no certainty of the continuance of this favourable condition, and in the meantime expert opinion as to the possibility of doing much by art to prevent or remove these obstructions to navigation is unfavourable.

Mr. Woodburn, lately Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, succeeds to the seat in the Viceregal Council vacated by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, on his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, and Mr. C. J. Lyall takes the place of Mr. Woodburn in the Central Provinces.

Sir Charles Elliott makes over charge of his office on the 17th instant and leaves for Europe on the following day, and the Viceroy is expected to return to Calcutta on the 13th instant.

December 11th, 1895.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

A Son of the Plains. By Arthur Paterson.

To lovers of Western American stories with their usual concomitants of Indians, road agents, revolvers, bowie knives, bullies, rowdies, and blood and thunder generally, through which heroic cowboys and virtuous maidens move unscathed, this volume should prove of absorbing interest. As a tale, it is good of its kind.

The Herons. By Helen Shipton.

Interesting reading for a quiet hour, though the book would bear cutting down, being somewhat of the longest.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages. By the late R. W. Church M. A., D. C. L., London: Macmillan & Co., and New York. 1895. The Eversley Series.

This book contains an excellent *resumè* of the history of Europe during the five centuries between the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the end of the tenth century. The compiler has done his work well and produced a pithy and concentrated account of the events and causes that led to the rise of the various countries which shaped themselves during this dark period, and are the practical predecessors of the nations of Modern Europe. The limited size of the work does not permit of discursive dealing with the events under narration, but no factor is neglected which helped to produce some degree of order out of the fearful chaos brought about by the barbarian irruptions. The book is of handy size and, by reason of its lucid, interesting style, should be invaluable as an educational work. It is printed in the Eversley Series, by the kind permission of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., to whom the copyright belongs.

A Set of Rogues. By Frank Barrett.

Having taken up this book, it is difficult for one to set it down until the final chapter is reached. The story is told in quaint old-world English, and purports to be written by one of the "set of rogues" implicated. In flowing style the author takes us through scenes of the seventeenth century England, through France and sunny Spain, even as far as Algiers, all in the interests of the plot. It is no stringing together of loose

adventures, but each chapter furthers the object of the work The "set of rogues" are not very bad scoundrels, though undeniably on the wrong side of the law, and the conspiracy which they go through so much to further, is half forgiven by the reader, in consideration of their very estimable private virtues. Moll, the heroine, and principal figure, is redeemed by the saving influence of love, and the heir, who is in danger of losing his estates through the machinations of these loveable villains, at last comes into them with the addition of her as a wife. Self-sacrifice clears her character and atones for her misdoings, but not before a series of very entertaining incidents and wanderings have been recorded. The style of the work is good and restrained, the matter excellent.

A Bubble. By L. B. Walford. Westminster: A Constable & Co. 1895. The Acme Library.

A pitiful little story of a promising life spoiled by a misplaced love. It was presumption, of course, for the poor though brilliant Scottish student, Dirom, to fall in love with a General's daughter, Clara Mauleverer. Her culpability in snaring the youth to his destruction "for pastime ere she went to town," quite in the style of that other Clara, is told with much force and nerve by the author. The downfall of his hopes when he finds Clara in London a different person from Clara in Edinburgh, and totally inaccessible to him, practically kills Dirom. But she escapes not the justice of fate; and, even in the arms of a devoted husband of her own rank, who at the same time is an unaffected good fellow, remorse reaches her, and her awakened heart deals her back cruel reproach for the sin of her girlhood.

From Shadow to Sunlight. By the Marquis of Lorne. Westminster: A. Constable & Co. 1895. The Acme Library.

A love story with a Jesuit who has broken his vows for its hero is a subject difficult of treatment, but the noble Marquis has succeeded in producing a work which is quiet in tone and elevated in sentiment, if not particularly lofty in diction, or of thrilling interest.

The Old Missionary. By Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D. Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University. 1895. Revised from the *Contemporary Review.*

Out of an extremely simple motive, Sir W. W. Hunter has evolved a story which affords him an opportunity for displaying a keen insight into certain phases of official life in the districts. The Old Missionary, toiling among the people

whom he has brought to Christianity, teaching them the simple religion of love and brotherly kindness, keeping them from the law courts, and settling their simple disputes without reference to the paraphernalia of the law, is a very finely drawn character; the touch of pathos necessary to humanise the asceticism of his life being added by the existence of the little daughter who shares his toils and privations. But it is not in him, nor in his passive struggle against the over-zeal of his Brahman convert and pupil, the deacon, who heads against him the mutiny on points of dogma, that the interest centres; but rather in the wise and tolerant discretion, shown by the officials who figure in the little story, towards the troubles which arise from schism in the little sect, on the one hand, and their collision with a neighbouring band of Roman Catholic converts on the other. This phase shows up in strong and nervous style the reasons which lead to the preservation of internal peace in British India. All is settled amicably while the officials, in sympathy with the Old Missionary's efforts to preserve his people from the police courts, hold aloof. The Protestants seek fresh lands to cultivate, and the old man rejoices in the success of his endeavours. The labour of the Old Missionary at the dictionary of the difficult hill dialect which he alone is competent to undertake, supplies a picture of effort in the face of overwhelming obstacles, very real in this land of difficulties. Loss of sight terminates his long endeavour, which there is none competent to continue, and the old man resigns himself to his Maker's will, sinking to his last rest in peace born of the fact that, repentant and grieved at his failing powers, the Brahman convert and his band of malcontents abjure their schism and return to his direction. It is needless to dilate upon the clear and lucid narrative style of Sir W. W. Hunter. The simple story flows on without effort or straining for effect, and the hand of the master of English is apparent from beginning to end.

The Wooing of Doris. By Mrs. J. K. Spender.

The "Wooing of Doris," despite its title, is not a conventional novel. Doris' early lover has a somewhat long task in the said wooing, and gets her at second hand after all; wooed, wedded and widowed by an elderly interloper as an interlude. Her father, a fraudulent trustee, is responsible for much of the misfortune, but all ends satisfactorily. The characters are cleverly drawn, and some extremely clever dialogue brightens the pages of the book.

Winifred Mount. By Richard Price.

This volume affords pleasant light reading for a leisure hour. There is no intricate plot to bewilder the reader, but the story, such as there is, is pleasantly told, and the characters are sufficiently individualised.

The Crooked Stick, or Pollie's Probation. By Rolf Boldrewood.

A fine, breezy tale of Australian life and adventure. The indispensable love interest is well sustained. The heroine, after a brief and romantic passage with the handsome, scampish relative from England, settles her choice finally upon her Australian admirer, a fine manly fellow, and by no means a "Crooked Stick," as he is libelled in the title. The climax is somewhat melodramatic, but this is to be expected in a work of the kind. The book is full of the nameless charm of Australian life, and Rolf Boldrewood knows well how to place before us scenes of Southern pastoral life. The details of life on the sheep-run and cattle farm are represented with great vividness. There are many strong situations: fights with bush-rangers, struggles with the elements. The queer humorous side of the native born cornstalk is depicted with a skill which leaves no doubt of the author's close powers of observation.

Altogether an excellent book for those who care to be transported, if only in imagination, into the wild, free life depicted.

Comrades in Arms. By Arthur Amyand.

The author sets out, as avowed in his preface, to provide the public "with a story of military life, incident and action," and "by an endeavour to stimulate the reader's interest in soldiers, to lead to an increased sympathy with those of them below commissioned rank." On the whole he has attained his object fairly well. Regimental life is placed before us in an attractive form. Arthur Amyand has a sense of humour and knows how to make use of it. The plot, about which the descriptions hang, is well sustained and dramatic. The chapters describing the fights in the Soudan war are written in a very graphic style. The book will be read with interest by all to whom a sense of patriotism and pride in our soldiers appeals.

The Lovely Malincourt. By Helen Mathers.

This is one of those pieces of moving fiction which its author knows so well how to write. The heroine who gives the

title to the book is a well drawn and loveable character, while her rival, who "cried for the moon" and nearly got it, does not inspire the reader with any of the repugnance which the heroine's rival is apt to do. The men folk are presentable specimens of the English type, and if somewhat above the average in strength, beauty, ugliness, virtue and wickedness, they are not more so than the men of a lady novelist have a right to be. The bad one is very wicked indeed. A duel lends zest to the proceedings, but the ending is a happy one, as the endings of such novels should be.

The Renegade. By James Chalmers.

A somewhat elaborate work of semi-historical fiction. The picturesque figure of Paul Jones has before now served as a centre-piece round which to weave a web of romance, but the author, nothing daunted, has chosen as his subject the conjectural wrongs which drove this famous character to wage successful war upon his own country. And very well he has performed his task. The plot is well laid, and moves along with regularity and precision. There is no love story entwined therewith, but the reader is hurried along amid exciting scenes, from adventure to adventure, until the climax is reached in the great sea fight wherein Paul Jones defeats and captures the British frigates. This fight is historically true, and the author, in dealing with it, displays considerable powers of description. Simultaneously Paul Jones achieves the fictional object of his life, establishes his identity and his claim to the inheritance from which he has been wrongfully kept, but resigns all, and retires. The style is good, and the characters are no lay figures.

The Salt of the Earth. By Philip Lafargue.

A collection of short stories, widely different in scope, and somewhat unequal in merit. The first and apparently the most important—"From the Life of Donald Wishart—" deals with one of those neurotic subjects who have earned for themselves the style and title of the "Higher Degenerates." The author has chosen to regard these deviations from the normal type as the "Salt of the Earth," and intituled his book accordingly. "Donald Wishart" has considerable merit as a character study, yet the reader is compelled to take the measure of his talents a good deal upon the author's words, and is not allowed much opportunity of judging for himself. The character is described rather than set forth. The ending is ague to a degree, yet the readiness with which the reader passes n to the next story without undue curiosity, shows that the

author has here missed a point. In "Time's Revenge," we have another character sketch far more strongly put together. The girl who has educated herself on her long absent father's early writings, only to find, on meeting him, that his youthful enthusiasms have given way to a practical "Philistine" view of life, is a very interesting study indeed. The strong rebellious spirit, inherited by the daughter, leading her to defy her father, even as he defied *his* before, produces a very effective picture of "Time's Revenge." All the stories in the book are marked by originality.

Two on a Tower. By Thomas Hardy.

Mr. Hardy's Preface to this new edition of his work is a model of unobtrusive sarcasm. On the surface it reads as an apology; but the ringing scorn in it will not be missed by his detractors. After explaining his original design, he proceeds:—

> "On the publication of the book people seemed to be less struck with these high aims of the author than with their own opinion, first, that the novel was an 'improper' one, and, secondly, that it was intended to be a satire on the established church of this country. * * * That, however, was thirteen years ago, and, in respect of the first opinion, I venture to think that those who care to read the story now will be quite astonished at the scrupulous propriety observed therein on the relations of the sexes."

A telling hit, at the degenerate tendency marked by a certain class of novels, lately arisen to public favour.

If grace and beauty of language, and the sympathy with which "the pathos, misery, long suffering, and divine tenderness which in real life frequently accompany the passion of such a woman as Viviette for a lover several years her junior" can enchain the reader's interest, then "Two on a Tower" is worthy of perusal and re-perusal. The rustic characters introduced are in Mr. Hardy's very best vein of subtle humour.

Red Rowans. By Flora Annie Steel.

Mrs. Steel is best known in India for her remarkable tales of native life. In the volume before us she shows that she is equally capable of delineating English life and character. *Red Rowans* is a thoroughly wholesome novel, far removed from the conventional type. Most of the scenes are laid in Scotland, and Mrs. Steel makes admirable use of her evidently great knowledge of Scottish manners and dialect, as well as her acquaintance with Northern scenery. The plot of the work is skilfully contrived; and, if the catastrophe which carries off Marjory Carmichael and turns the book to tragedy at the moment when the clouds have lifted and her life seems

bright before her, be somewhat sudden, yet it is in keeping with the experience of real life, where the irony of fate is full of such surprises. The last chapter comes somewhat in the nature of an after-climax—Marjorie's lover loses his memory for grief and in oblivion finds such happiness as he is capable of in the arms of an old flame who has long loved and manœuvred for him.

The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records. Told by Paul Carus. Third revised edition. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1895.

In this book Dr. Carus has collated the philosophical theories of Gautama Siddartha, the Buddha, and, by careful editing, re-arranging, and free rendering of the obscurer passages, adapted them to the needs of modern readers. The result is an eminently readable work, preserving, we are assured, the essence and spirit of Buddhism. Many passages, however, and, indeed, the most important it is claimed, are literally copied from the translations of the original texts. We cannot here go into the merits of Buddhism as a system of ethics—it can hardly be termed a religion; but the general reader may obtain an excellent idea of its teaching, pruned of the puerility and extravagance which have overgrown it, from Dr. Carus' labours. The value of the work is increased by an excellent index, a glossary of names and terms, and a table of references and parallels with the Christian gospels.

The Fauna of British India including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blandford. Vol. III. By W. T. Blandford, F.R.S. London: Taylor and Francis, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., Bombay: Thacker & Co., Berlin: R. Friedlander & Sohn, 11, Carlstrasse. 1895.

Mr. Oates, the author of the former two volumes on Birds, was obliged to return to his appointment in India, as explained in the Preface to the second volume. The continuation of the Birds was, therefore, left in the editor's hands. The diffidence which Mr. Blandford expresses in his Preface, in following on "the able ornithologist who commenced the work," is not justified by the result. The third volume is thoroughly worthy to take its stand with its predecessors. Some change has taken place in the original plan. Thus the Editor says:—

> "In the Preface to the second volume, a change in the original plan of the 'Birds' was announced. It was still proposed to complete the work in three volumes; but as the second was shorter than usual, it was announced that the deficiency would be made good in the third, which would contain descriptions of all Indian birds, except Passeres. As the work progressed, however, further modification became necessary, as it was evident that the proposed

third volume would be of inconvenient size, and it has now been decided to divide it into two.* * * The fourth volume is in preparation, and a considerable portion is written. * * * Whilst I regret that this is not the last of the series of volumes containing the description of the Indian vertebrata, I hope the final part will not be long delayed."

The Origin of the Musulmans of Bengal. Being a translation of "Haqiqate Musalman-i-Bengalah. By Khondkar Fuzli Rubbee, Dewan to H. H. the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, G. C. I. E. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. 1895.

This book is a strongly worded protest against the established theory, that the Musalmans of Bengal are the descendants of low caste Hindus converted to Islam in days of the Mahomedan irruption. The learned Dewan is not a little angry with Sir W. W. Hunter for adhering to this theory, and, with the view of refuting it, quotes the following cautious statement from that author's *Statistical Account of Murshidabad*: "It is said that the great Mahomedan families returned to Delhi or to Persia when Bengal became subject to the English." On this the author says: "Sir W. W. Hunter's remark on this point is as erroneous as untenable," and, after a compliment to "the spirit of toleration characteristic of the English nation, which not only afforded them (the Musalmans) liberty of faith on religion, but allowed them to be governed by their own laws and principles" proceeds to state his thesis in unmistakeable terms:—

> "One who has minutely studied the history of the Musalmans of Bengal will see, that the great Mahomedan families who came to Murshidabad from the time of Morshid Kuli Khan, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, are still largely to be found in the towns of Murshidabad, Patna, Purnea, Dacca, Hooghly, etc., or in the villages of these districts, and that the Sanads, which were conferred upon them by the ancient rulers of the country, are still preserved, and the landed property though split into very small pieces, which they received as grants from those rulers, is, up to this day, in the possession of their descendants. It will thus appear that the supposition of Sir W. W. Hunter with regard to the Musalmans of Bengal is quite baseless and unreliable. Such being the case it can safely, and without any fear of contradiction, be asserted, that the ancestors of the present Musalmans of this country were certainly those Musalmans who came here from foreign parts during the rule of the former sovereigns, and that the present generation of Musalmans are the offspring of that dominant race who remained masters of the land for 562 years."

Although the facts here stated, if verified, would at least show that Sir W. W. Hunter's tentative statement, that "the great Mahomedan families returned to Delhi or to Persia," needs qualification, yet the sweeping deduction drawn by the author is clearly a *non sequitur*. Plainly the existence of these descendants of Mahomedan immigrants does not disprove

the existence of the descendants of proselytes from Hinduism. But it is against Mr. H. Beverley that the Dewan is most exercised. According to him it is from "the wrong and groundless theories promulgated by Mr. H. Beverley, in his Census Report of Bengal for 1892," that "the erroneous opinions expressed by Sir W. W. Hunter and other writers of note have been derived." The Dewan's reasoning is weak to put it mildly. Mr. Beverley's position is a very simple one. After pointing out that the lot of the low caste masses, owing to causes sufficiently explicit, was very wretched in Bengal under Hinduism, he proceeds—"We can imagine that very little persecution was required to change the faith of these miserable helots." The Dewan, in opposing this, shows a want of perception of the gist of Mr. Beverley's contention. "This statement," he says, "is open to objection; since if the lower orders of the Hindus were compelled to embrace Islam, how was it possible for the higher classes . . . to have adhered to their own creed in this country." And this after devoting some pages to setting forth the tolerant spirit of Islam, though by no means repudiating the willingness of that proselytizing faith to receive converts. The theory that a proportion of the Musalman inhabitants of Bengal are the descendants of proselytes scarcely deserves the vehemence with which the Dewan assails it, nor would it seem to justify the two paragraphs which conclude this portion of the work under review :—

> "We lament that during the *regime* of the most just and popular Government of Britain—a Government which has not its equal in the universe—the feelings of such vast multitudes of its loyal Musalman subjects should be allowed to be hurt by their being unjustly held up to ridicule before the whole world, and, moreover, that such whimsical and defamatory statements, which scandalize Musalmans and injure their feelings, should be placed on public record to put them to shame and make them contemptible in the eyes of the world.
>
> "We humbly, but most earnestly, implore the paternal Government to repair the wrong done to us Musalman subjects through the public writings of Mr. Beverley; and solicit that the question at issue, *viz.*, that of our origin and ancestry, be thoroughly inquired into with the help of the light afforded by history, and that the results of such investigation may be placed on record."

Apart from its controversial aspect, the book contains much valuable information respecting the Mahomedans of Bengal, their castes, divisions and occupations, with the reasons which have led to their being outstripped in the race for material progress by their more subtle and supple Hindu rivals. The translator, whose name is not given, has done his work well.

The Story of Barlaam and Joasaph. Buddhism and Christianity. Edited by K. S. Macdonald, M. A., D. D., Fellow, Calcutta University. With Philological Introduction and Notes to the Vernon, Harleian and Bodleian Versions, by the Rev. John Morrison, M. A., B. D., Principal, General Assembly's Institution. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1895.

The bulk of this work is taken up by a translation from the Greek, the "*History of the Five Wise Philosophers,*" originally printed for Edward Midwinter, at the Three Crowns and Looking-glass in St. Paul's Churchyard, to which no date is given, though as stated in a note by the Editor, the Addenda referred to in the title page are dated 1732. While adopting the *History of the Five Wise Philosophers* as the basis of his narrative, the Editor has worked into it those passages from the original Greek, as translated by Dr. Berry, which had been dropped in the course of time. Thus printed, the *History* is "a mosaic of early 17th century English, and that of the close of the 19th, which, the Editor concludes," may prove a useful exercise to the student of English to attempt to analyse it, separating the earlier from the later English." The other four versions of the legend, *viz*, *The Hystorye of the Hermyte Balaam,* from William Caxton's Golden Legend, *Barlaam and Josaphat,* Vernon M. S., *De Sanctis Berlam and Josaphat,* Harley M. S., and *Barlaam and* Josaphat, Bodleian M. S., are given verbatim as in the original. To these are affixed a philological dissertation on the English of the MSS., and a very copious and valuable series of notes on the text by the Rev. J. Morrison, which very greatly enhance the value of the publication. These texts are here, for the first time, annotated in English. The introduction by the Editor forms an able treatise upon Christianity and Buddhism, and, as claimed in the Preface, is "mainly devoted to the rectifying of a total misrepresentation of the facts of History with reference to the supposed influence of Buddhism on the literature of the West." Dr. Macdonald, in this introduction, attacks with great vigour the arguments, conclusions and assertions of Mr. Arthur Lillie, Mr. Ernest De Bunsen, Professor Seydel and Mr. R. C. Dutt, I. C. S., C. I. E., who, in various works, have attempted to prove that the teaching of Buddhism had influence upon the Gospels and other scriptures of the New Testament. Dr. Macdonald maintains that the foundations upon which these arguments are based are utterly unreliable, and that the evidence on which the contention is based is of no value. Evidence is adduced to show that Buddhism had not even been heard of in Syria, in Egypt, or in Europe, before the third century of the Christian Era. In support of this contention Dr. Macdonald publishes a letter from Professor

Ramsay, author of *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D.* 170.

A most interesting part of the Introduction is that devoted to a comparison between Buddhist canonical writings, and the Christian canonical writings upon which Mr. R. C. Dutt relies to establish a connection between the two. Dr. Macdonald boldly publishes the parallels and shows how weak and far-fetched they are.

Nevertheless, it is not disputed that the Joasaph, or Josaphat, of the legend is none other than Buddha, and the Editor remarks on the very anomalous position which he occupies in Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity, "appropriated not only by the Hindus as an incarnation of Vishnu, but by the Roman Catholic and the Greek Church as an arthodox canonised Christian Saint, and, as such, ordered to be worshipped under the name and title of S. S. Barlaam and Josaphat The Editor comments :—

> "It is, however, somewhat curious, to say the least of it that, he who denied the existence of God should himself be worshipped as God, by a large portion of the human family, and that the greater portion of remainder should worship him either as a Christian Saint, or as a Hindu incarnation, an embodiment of illusion and deception

The story of *Barlaam* and *Josaphat* is attributed to John (Mansur), of Damascus, who died 756 A. D. "When it is said that the story is largely Buddhistic, what is meant is that a good deal of the subject-matter came originally from a Buddhistic book, or it may be books, but that the result was a new book, containing nothing peculiar to the creed or doctrines of Buddhism. In using the material, all doctrines, and, indeed, expression contradictory of Christian beliefs, were discarded or rejected."

History of the Armenians in India, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By MESROUB J. SETH, Armenian Examiner, to the University of Calcutta. Published by the Author at 11, Wellesley Square, E.

At a time when the attention of Europe and India is being drawn so powerfully to the sufferings of the Armenians, the appearance of this little book is most opportune. Besides being from his antecedents and position well fitted for the task of writing a history of his nation in India, Mr. Seth has, through a course of years, devoted himself to the pleasing, though laborious, work of hunting up facts relating to them. The fruit of his researches is an admirable compendium, historical and biographical, revealing, to any who have not studied the subject before, a collection of striking events which

reflect lustre on the achievements of members of his community in the past. Independently of India, some reference was necessary to the early history of a race which claims to trace its origin to a period anterior to Abraham, in whose days, we are told, "the Armenians were a powerful nation."

We are not disposed to criticise too narrowly the estimate which Mr. Seth makes of his people's doings in the past, and have read with much interest the early history of his nation, which he has sketched *con amore* and with fervid patriotism. Within the Christian era, too, they have established a claim to grateful recognition :—

> "How much does humanity, how much does Christianity owe to this race!" says the Rev. C. G. Curtis. "The Armenians are the only Christian nation in Asia; the Armenian nation was the first to become Christian; Missionaries of Christianity in early times, they have been its martyrs in all, from the fifth century when they rose as one man to repel the Zoroastrians, who tried to force fire-worship into the place of the worship of the true God, through ages of Moslem oppression since, they have passed on an inheritance of resistance and suffering for Christ's sake."

Mr. Seth notes with honest pride that, although the Armenians in India "have built no cities like their *confrères* in trade, the Danes, the Dutch, and the French," they have, nevertheless, a history in the land of their sojourn and adoption; "not, however, one of conquest, adventure, plunder, and rapine," "but of noteworthy deeds, influenced by strong nationalism and tenacious patriotism, of a handful of Armenian colonists at the various commercial centres of India."

Mr. Seth was appointed by the Bengal Government in 1894 to translate into English a number of classical Armenian inscriptions in the Armenian Churchyards in Sydabad (near Moorshedabad), Chinsurah and Calcutta; and, in pursuing this labour of love, he alighted on the oldest Christian tombstone in this city. The inscription on it is translated as below :—

> "This is the tomb of REZABEEBEH, wife of the late charitable Sookeas, who departed from this world to life eternal on the 21st day of Nakha [11th July] in the year 15 [New Era of Julfa=1630 A. D.]."

He points out that the Armenians had established themselves at *Sutanati* (now Hautkola Ghât), at least 60 years before Job Charnock, who is regarded as the founder of Calcutta, hoisted the British flag on the banks of the Hooghly, which was on the 24th August, 1690. The Armenians attached themselves to the English in 1688 through their representative, the well-known Khojah Phanoos Khalanthar, through whose influence, as "a merchant of eminency," they obtained charters from the East India Company on the 22nd June of that year. These interesting old documents, the substance of which is quoted

in the book under notice, grant to the Armenians an equal share and benefit of all indulgences, in the way of trade, residence, &c., granted to "any of their own adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever," and also liberty to exercise their own religion, build churches—for which a parcel of land was also granted, and a temporary church of timber erected by the Company, whenever they numbered forty or more persons in any city or town belonging to the said Company.

Not in Calcutta alone, however, were the enterprising Armenians found. Kasi, our modern Benares, was once the head-quarters of Armenian merchants, who reached it by the land route passing through Persia and Cabul; the sea-route round the Cape being then unknown to European navigators. In the days of Moghul ascendancy, when Jehangir held court at Agra, Captain W. Hawkins, who had been sent on a mission to the Emperor, received from him many donations and was earnestly intreated to accept a wife. The English Captain urged that his religious convictions would not allow him to marry any but a Christian—whereupon, as Mr. Seth is careful to tell us, search was made, and a *young Armenian maiden* found, whom Captain Hawkins married, and whom he took ultimately to England. So much were Armenians trusted in the olden days, that, when difficulty was experienced in England in enlisting soldiers for India, owing to King William the Third's demand for them in his European wars, the Court of Directors wrote out to the Deputy and Council of Bombay to try and enlist Armenian Christians, *as the very best men to be trusted.* Again, the important deputation sent to the Court of Delhi, in 1715, for the purpose of obtaining a *firman* from the Moghul Emperor, was accompanied by an Armenian merchant of "great eminence and vast influence," named Khojah Israel Sarhad, who was its interpreter, and through whose aid the object of the mission was achieved.

But we have no space to reproduce the striking incidents which Mr. Seth's industry has brought together, relating to the work of the Armenians in past times in India, and their services to the English, and must refer our readers for them to the book itself, which exhumes from the records of the past something that will be new to most of them, *vid.*, the existence of a company of 100 Armenians in Calcutta in 1801, which was maintained as a Militia at the expense of an eminent merchant, named Aga Catchick Arrakiel.

The book glances also at Armenian educational institutions in Calcutta, and embalms the memories of Arratoon, Kaloos, Johannes Avdal, and "the immortal Mesroub David Thaliatin." It further touches the subject of Armenian Literature and Journalism in India, and concludes with two Appendices which treat on the classical Armenian language.

The Relief of Chitral. By Captain G. J. YOUNGHUSBAND, Queen's Own Corps of Guides, and Captain FRANK E. YOUNGHUSBAND, C. I. E., Indian Staff Corps (late Political Officer in Chitral). With map and illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co. and New York. 1895.

This is a book of stirring incidents and heroic deeds. It is from the pen of two military officers who were present in most of the scenes described, and many of the actions which took place. Captain Geo. Younghusband was on the staff of General Sir Robert Lowe, who commanded the army which advanced against Chitral from the South (Peshawur); and Captain Frank Younghusband, who had been Political Agent at Chitral, was better acquainted with the Northern route from Gilghit by which Colonel Kelly advanced against that fortress. The map of the region about Chitral is a most useful help, and the illustrations, which are beautifully executed, add greatly to the interest of the narrative.

The opening chapter, on the causes of the war, narrates occurrences with which the public are familiar: how Aman-ul-Mulk, the old Mehtar of Chitral, died, leaving seventeen sons; how Afzul, one of the sons, seized the arms and treasure in the fort, and killed as many of his brothers as might be expected to make a bid for his throne; how Nizam-ul-Mulk, his elder brother, fled to Gilghit, the head-quarters of the Political Agent; how the uncle, Sher Afzul, from his banishment in Afghan territory, came upon the scene; and how Afzul-ul-Mulk was killed; how the uncle became the *de facto* ruler of Chitral; and how also he had, very shortly after, to flee back as fast as he had come, when Nizam-ul-Mulk moved against him, after seeking the support of the British Government. After Nizam-ul-Mulk felt secure in his seat, he asked that a British officer might be sent to remain at his side. This led to the mission of Surgeon-Major Robertson and three other officers, with fifty men of the 15th Sikhs, 'to congratulate the new Mehtar on his succession, and to promise him the same subsidy and support as were given to his late father," and eventually to the presence at Chitral of Mr. Robertson with his escort of 400 men, after Nizam ul-Mulk has been murdered by his brother, Amir-ul-Mulk; and Sher Afzul had re-appeared at Chitral, assisted by the restless and ambitious ruler of Jandul, Umra Khan. Amir-ul-Mulk was deposed and retained in custody by the British officers, and Suja-ul-Mulk, a boy, 9 or 10 years old, recognized as provisional ruler of Chitral, when the fort was attacked and surrounded by Pathans and Chitralis, and the expeditions were set on foot with which the book before us deals. Into the policy of the war the authors do not enter,

but confine themselves with true military instinct to the course of events and the results achieved.

The manner in which Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler were seized at Reshun, by Yadgar Beg and Mohamed Isa, recalls the treachery of Akbar Khan towards Sir W. H. MacNaghten, and illustrates the utter untrustworthiness of the Afghan. Mahomed Isa himself, like Akbar Khan in 1841, was the prime actor in the traitorous proceedings. The subsequent experiences, however, of these two officers were, on the whole, better than might have been anticipated for they were taken to Umra Khan. "We both consider," they say, "that Umra Khan treated us very well indeed, and that he never intended to be the direct cause of injury to us under any circumstances."

General Lowe's advance from Nowshera is thus described by Captain Geo. Younghusband. "Since Lord Roberts made his famous march from Kabul to Khandahar, the Indian army has, perhaps, taken part in no campaign so rapid, brilliant, and successful as the operations which resulted in the relief of the sorely pressed garrison of Chitral. No element was wanting to call forth the keenest instincts of the soldier, or to arouse the anxious interest of those who watched with breathless suspense the struggle, as the columns pushed forward over high mountain passes, girth deep in snow, across rivers broad and deep, swollen with rain and smelting snow, and fiercely opposed by the desperate bravery of mountain warriors born and bred to the sword. When, therefore, within three short weeks the welcome news was flashed down the wire that Chitral was relieved, and that the British Agent and his escort had been snatched from a horrible fate, there was hardly a corner of the British Empire which did not feel proud of the hardy leaders and brave men who had so signally upheld the proud standard of British resource, pluck and endurance."

The book generally is based on official dispatches; but it abounds in thrilling incidents and instances of personal prowess, and of the British officers care for his men. A wounded officer giving up his mule to a wounded sepoy, and ascending a rugged mountain path walking by the side of the animal, is a most significant fact explaining the attachment of the sepoys to their English officers. Where such regard for the native soldier was evinced, it is not surprising that the Pioneers in Colonel Kelly's force should have volunteered to carry his two guns on their own shoulders where the mules could not make their way through the snow.

The expedition of Colonel Kelly with his 400 men was even more arduous than that of General Lowe with his 15,000. But where each branch of the service met with perfect coolness and

intrepidity, the special dangers and difficulties which fell in its way, it were invidious to make distinctions.

This exciting and excellent book closes with a view of the present situation which is sketched in a spirit of genuine loyalty to the Government, and describes results which disarm criticism. The people of Chitral, when asked why they had been so foolish as to fight us, replied to Captain Younghusband: "Why were we? We hate these Pathans; they have plundered our houses and carried off our women; but they were strong and close while you were far away, and we never knew you were so powerful as you are. We did not want to fight you; but we were led away."

The Second Jungle Book. By RUDYARD KIPLING, with Illustrations by J. Lockwood Kipling, C. I. E. London: Macmillan & Co. and New York. 1895.

The second jungle book is as delightful reading as the first. As regards the Indian tales, the materials of each story or fable, as it may more fitly be called, amount to just nothing —a truce among the wild beasts during the prevalence of a drought, which renders each too thirsty and emaciated to hunt after its prey; a triangular dialogue between a crocodile, an adjutant and a jackall, and so on—. But the inimitable touch of Rudyard Kipling invests them with an interest which never flags; the stories are vivid and fresh, though it is the youthful nature, surviving even in the aged, that can alone thoroughly enjoy them.

"The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" is something beyond this, as well as "Quiquern," at both of which we shall briefly glance. Purun Dass was a high caste Brahmin, whose father had been an important official in an old-fashioned Hindoo Court. Purun himself, helped by a good English education in a Bombay University, rose step by step to be Prime Minister of the Kingdom, a semi-independent Native State. Giving the credit of all the reforms he initiated, to the young King, his master, he established girl's schools, made roads, started dispensaries, published a yearly Blue Book on the "Moral and Material Progress of the State"—in a word delighted the Government of India and the Foreign Office. He became the honoured friend of Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors, of medical and other missionaries, of English officers who loved shooting, and of hosts of tourists. At last he paid a visit to England, and was reckoned in London the most fascinating man ever met at dinner. On his return to India (where he had to pay enormous sums to the Priests to recover caste), Purun Dass was made Sir Purun Dass, C. I. E. At a dinner in the

Viceregal tent, he replied to the toast of his master's health in a speech which few Englishmen would have surpassed. The next step in his life was to return to the Government the jewelled order of his Knighthood, resign his post in the Native State and die to the world. In other words he doffed all the insignia of officialdom and became a Sunnyasi—"a houseless wandering mendicant, depending on his neighbours for his daily bread." He footed it to Rontuk, thence to Kurnool, thence to ruined Samanah—up along the dried stream of the Guggur to the Himalayas, where he reached a ruined shrine of Kali and established himself there. Our readers can read in Mr. Kipling's tale how he tamed the *langurs* and the wild beasts of the forests; how villagers in the neighbourhood supplied his wants, and how the whole thing ended. What we wish to draw attention to is Rudyard Kipling's estimate of the effect of western civilization on the Native mind.

Of course it is easy to detect the originals which suggested to him the character of Purun Bhagat. The apparent transformation of such men into representatives of European civilization, Mr. Kipling regards as illusory. Its influence on them is skin deep. Scratch the Russian and you will find a Tartar. Asceticism is rooted in the religious nature of an Oriental, and a return to the original type is inevitable. The same note is struck in Matthew Arnold's lines descriptive of Oriental character:—

> "The East bowed low before the blast
> In silent deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plung'd in thought again"

Mr. Kipling's residence in the United States has enabled him to study the life of the Esquimaux. His "Quiquern" brings to light their domestic and social life, and surrounds the flat and uninteresting pursuits of seal hunters near the North pole in a region where it is dark for nine months in the year, with a halo of human interest and attractiveness. The verses with which the story closes, are, like all the other verses in the book, musical and pleasing. We have space for little more than the chorus of the Returning Hunter's Song:—

ANGUS TIVUN TIND.

> Our gloves are stiff with the frozen blood,
> Our furs with the drifted snow;
> As we come in with the seal—the seal!
> In from the edge of the floe.
>
> CHORUS: *Au jana! Ana! Oha! Haq!*
> And the yelping dog teams go;
> And the long whips crack, and the men come back,
> Back from the edge of the floe.

We tracked the seal to his secret place,
We heard him scratch below ;
We made our mark, and we watched beside,
Out on the edge of the floe.

We raised our lance when he rose to breathe,
We drove it downward—so !
And we played him thus, and we killed him thus,
Out on the edge of the floe.

Our gloves are glued with the frozen blood,
Our eyes with the drifting snow ;
But we come back to our wives again,
Back from the edge of the floe.

CHORUS : *Au Jana ! Ana ! Oha ! Hag !* &c., &c.

The illustrations are most expressive.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Chhatrapati Mahárájá Sivájir Jivan Charit. By SATYA CHARAN SHASTRI. Printed by Gopál Chandra Niogi at the Nababibhákar Press, 63-3, Mechooa Bazar Road, Calcutta. Published by Manmatha Nath Chattopádhaya, Dakshineswara.

PUNDIT Satya Charan Shástri was asked by his father to write a biographical account of Siváji, the founder of Marhatta greatness. He accordingly travelled for a long time in the Konkan and the Marhatta country, making it a point to visit the scenes of Siváji's adventures. He knows Marathi, and distinguished Márháttá gentleman supplied him with rare books and documents, throwing new light on the history of Siváji, and of the remarkable period in which he lived. The Pundit has shown a commendable spirit of original enquiry and research. His father also deserves well of the Bengali public for encouraging his son to undertake such an arduous work, and it is a matter of congratulation that the spirit of enquiry and research, the undoubted result of English education, is now permeating, even the ranks of the Pundits, so well known for their conservative spirit.

This Bengali work was written in Bombay, with the assistance of distinguished Márháttá savants, and it gives us the correct transliteration of Márháttá proper names. History being a new branch of literature in Bengali, Hindu historical names have come in to Bengali through the medium of English and strange confusions have occurred in their pronunciation and transliteration. For instance, Mádhava Ráo is the name of the fourth Peshwa, the Márháttás pronounce the name as Mádho Ráo; the English historians write it Madho Ráo, and we have made him Madhu Ráo. The name of the greatest of the Sindhias was Mahádevaji; the Márháttás call him Mahádáji; the early English writers corrupt it into Madaji. The Bengali writers corrupt it further and make it Madhaji. Pundit Satya Charan Shástri has given the true Márháttá pronunciation of these historical names, and it is hoped that the Bengali writers of history will take note of this. The first and most important correction that should be made in connection with the transliteration of Márháttá names in Bengali is that of the founder of the Márháttá kingdom. He is known as Sivají. This is wrong, his real name is Siváji, because his mother worshipped Siváidevi, the presiding deity of the well-known fort of Sewnery, where apparently he was born.

Pundit Satya Charan Shástri's treatment of his subject is exceedingly interesting. He has caught the true spirit of a biographer. He knows how to collect facts, and how to collate them. Other writers paint Siváji either as a warrior or as a politician, but the Pundit very often dwells on his private character as a father, as a son, as a king, as a citizen, and as a Kshatriya warrior. Siváji was Hindu to the backbone. His mother was a princess of remarkable abilities, and she contributed much to the formation of Siváji's character. His first wife, too, possessed the heart of a hero. But the man who had the greatest influence on Siváji, was his guardian, the venerable old Brahman, Dádáji Kond-deo. He wanted to make Siváji a model Hindu ruler, determined to curb the power of the Musalmans, and to save the lives of Brahmans and kine, even at the risk of his own. He taught Siváji to read the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, to appreciate and admire *Kathá*, the recital of these stories, and inspired him with a desire to emulate the characters of their heroes. He pointed out to him how the Muhammadans oppressed their Hindu subjects, how they exacted a *poll tax* from them, and how they were incapable of good government. Siváji grew up an ardent warrior and enthusiastic patriot, a benevolent ruler, and a virtuous man. To his mother he was an affectionate and dutiful child, taking her counsel in every thing connected with his own prospects and the prospects of those placed under his charge. He had seen very little of his father, who lived far away at Tanjore. There were few occasions on which he came in contact with him, but on these he showed him the greatest affection and veneration. On one occasion Siváji walked alongside his *Pálki* for more than twenty miles. On another occasion he sacrificed one of the cherished objects of his life, *viz.*, the humbling of the Bijapur State, because the Sultan prevailed upon his father Sháhji, to act as a mediator. Siváji was not only kind to his Hindu subjects, but he extended the same kindness to his Muhammadan subjects also. He put a stop to all exactions from the cultivators. He dispensed impartial justice to his subjects, and this made him exceedingly popular. He followed the Hindu code of honour in all matters relating to war, never striking a fallen foe, always treating captives of war with consideration, and females with the greatest honour. Pundit Shástri has painted Siváji's character to the best advantage, and has gone deeper into the subject than his predecessors.

In his work we come to understand, for the first time, what a tremendous energy Siváji had to put forth in order to conquer and organise his kingdom. He worked day and night without rest. He often sent his subordinates, tired with work, to rest,

working himself with a new set. He travelled incessantly over hill and down dale, and on the same day was seen heading an army, storming a fort, quietly hearing *kathá*, encouraging minstrels, and deciding most intricate law-suits. Such many-sided activity is rare in history. Busy as he was in so many transactions of life, he was never forgetful of his duty to gods and pious men. Even when marching at the head of an army fifty miles a day, he would often pause to pay his hurried respect to holy places and holy men.

Sir W. W. Hunter has done great injustice to the character of Siváji by saying that he won for the Márháttás the practical supremacy of Southern Indian by a life of treachery, assassination, and hard fighting. * Hard fighting he had, there is no doubt, but Pundit Satya Charan Shástri places in our hands the materials which will completely absolve Siváji from the charge of treachery and assassination. A life of treachery and assassination is incompatible with the instinct, education and traditions of the Hindu, and much more so of one who aspires to be a model Hindu ruler. In no instance was the charge of treachery and assassination against Siváji better substantiated than in the case of the assassination of Afzul Khán; and the account of it as given in Grant Duff is so lucid that it leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that Siváji was, in this instance, at least, guilty of deliberate murder. But new facts have come to light. Gopináth Panth, whom Siváji is said to have bribed, was not an officer of Afzul Khán. He was Siváji's man. Siváji went to see Afzul Khán with arms concealed, simply because he suspected treachery; and, if he had not assassinated Afzul Khán, Afzul Khán would have certainly killed him. The character of Afzul Khán was well known. He was an Afghan The character of Afghans for treachery has passed into a proverb.

Pundit Satya Charan Shástri's biography throws much new light on the social condition of the Hindus. Siváji is at present regarded as a Kshatriya; but the Bhonsla family were always regarded as Sudras. This was a puzzle to Bengali readers. It has now been solved. Gágá Bhatta, the great Pundit from Benares, before performing the ceremony of Abhisheka, or Installation, invested Siváji with the holy thread as a Kshatriya. But he took the precaution of performing before hand the *Brátyastoma* ceremony, by which degenerate people are restored to their castes. Gágá Bhatta's idea was that the Bhonslas were Kshatriyas of pure descent, but that non-observance of caste rules had brought them to the level of Sudras. This idea is now shared by many in Bengal, and the attempts of Káyasthas, Sonárbanias, Yogis and others

* P. 144. A Brief History of the Indian people.

who reassumed the holy thread, are simply instances of the working of the same idea. With the true instinct of a Brahman and a Pundit, Pundit Shástri dwells with great delight on the details of these ceremonies performed by Gágá Bhatta in 1674. People interested in Indian antiquities will find much valuable information in the chapter on the Abhisheka of Siváji, as given in the Shástri's work.

With these words we commend Pundit Satya Charan Shástri's excellent book to the public.

Vidyáságar. By Babu CHANDI CHARAN BANDYPADHYAYA. Printed by Sasi Bhushan Bhattácháryya, Metcalfe Press, Gaurmohon Mukerji's Street, Calcutta, and published by Babu Abinásh Chandra Mukhopádhyáya, Sanskrit Press Depository, No. 20, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Bhramanirásh. By Pandit SAMBHU CHANDRA VIDYARATNA. Printed at the English Sanskrit Press, No. 2, Nawabdi Ostágor's Lane, Calcutta. Published by Pundit Sambhu Chandra Vidyáratna.

Vidyáságar. By Babu BIHARI LAL SARKAR. Printed by Kebalram Chattopádhyáya at the Bangabási Steam Machine Press, No. 34, Colootolah Street, Calcutta, and published by Báninath Nundi, No. 12, Shikdárbágán Bandhava Pustakálaya, Calcutta.

Pundit Isvara Chandra Vidyáságar died on the 21st July, 1891, and nothing shows his popularity in Bengal more than the fact that no less than three large works on his biography have been published within this short time. The first was that of Pandit Sambhu Chandra Vidyáratna, which we reviewed in 1892. Within the last few months two works have been published, one running through 542 octavo pages, and the other through 660 duodecimo pages. The former is by Babu Chandi Charan Banerji, a Bráhmo, and the second by a Hindu revivalist of the conservative section. Each is swayed by his peculiar religious bias; each tries to prove that Vidyáságar belonged to his particular religious opinion, and to explain away his conduct when it runs counter to that opinion. Each shows some excellent features, and each brings out new documents, throwing new light on the events of Vidyáságar's life. Both are entitled to our respect, as they have certainly laboured hard to make their books interesting and useful.

Pundit Isvar Chandra Vidyáságar is regarded as the father of Bengali prose literature, and his biographers have attempted to examine how far this assertion is true. Both have concluded that Bengali prose existed long before Vidyáságar's

time, that there were some prose works in Bengali, written under the auspices of Christian Missionaries and of Raja Ram Mohan Ray. Babu Chandi Charan thinks that the oldest prose work was a Bengali treatise on Hindu Law, written about two hundred years ago, which has been lately discovered by a gentleman engaged in the search for Sanskrit manuscripts. Babu Bihári Lál thinks that the oldest Bengali prose work was one on Vaishnava's ritual, by Krishnadás Kaviráj, written in the sixteenth century. Whatever the results of these antiquarian researches may be, there is no doubt of the fact that Vidyáságar made Bengali prose popular. But his prose works were written under very favourable circumstances. He came after the introduction of English education, and at a time when the English Government had resolved upon encouraging the Vernaculars; and the growth of prose literature may be regarded more as a necessary consequence of English education than as due to the exertions of any particular individual.

Pundit Isvar Chandra Vidyáságar belonged to a period of transition, the like of which had not been seen in Bengal for several centuries, and Vidyáságar was the hero of this transition period. He was for a time the interpreter of the east to the west. But his uncompromising spirit of independence and deep sympathy with suffering humanity, disqualified him for the task, and he retired from the active concerns of the world enraged equally with the Europeans and with the Natives. It was after his retirement from public service that, left to himself, he did some signal service to his country, the greatest of which was the successful experiment of the diffusion of high English education through cheap Indian Agency. Thus he chalked out a new career of usefulness for his educated countrymen. As in this, so also in many other great undertakings, he was the pioneer. He was the first to translate Sanskrit and English works into Bengali. He was the first to popularise Sanskrit Grammar by teaching it through the medium of the Vernacular. He was the first to start the idea of a Hindu Annuity Fund. He was the first to start a newspaper with the view of discussing politics. He was the first to organise the Native book trade. His successors have, in many instances, done much better work on these lines, but his name will always be revered as that of the first man who started these ideas.

He was engaged in furthering the cause of two great works of reformation—re-marriage of widows and the prevention of polygamy. Neither of these great movements succeeded. But this ill-success was not due to want of exertion on his part. On the contrary, he spent a fortune in furthering the cause of widow marriage. His revivalist biographer attributes his enthusiasm for social reform to wrongheadedness, and thinks

that Vidyáságar came to his senses in his old age, and that it was for this reason that, on the occasion of the Consent Bill agitation, he opposed the cause of reform. The biographer is evidently in the wrong. The reason why Vidyáságar could not support the Consent Bill movement was the same as that for which he supported the widow marriage movement. He believed that Parásar was the greatest authority on Hindu Law for the Kaliyuga. He supported the widow marriage movement because Parásar expressly sanctioned it. He opposed the Consent Bill because Parásar was opposed to it. He was consistent throughout his life and did not change his views with age, as Bihári Babu thinks. Both Europeans and Natives expected that Vidyáságar would support the cause of reform, and his reply to the Bengal Government reference came as a surprise to both. Everyone thought that Vidyáságar had changed his views, but we have shown that he was consistent.

In another particular also Pundit Vidyáságar's action looks like a puzzle. Soon after the publication of his second work on the prevention of polygamy movement, there appeared a number of anonymous pamphlets printed at his press and published though his agency. They were scathing satires on his opponents, sparkling with wit and ably written, but often coarse and vulgar. Who was the author of these publications? No one but Vidyáságar himself. It is an admitted fact that Vidyáságar had very great conversational powers, and the pamphlets contain the very jokes and witty stories which figured so prominently in his conversation.

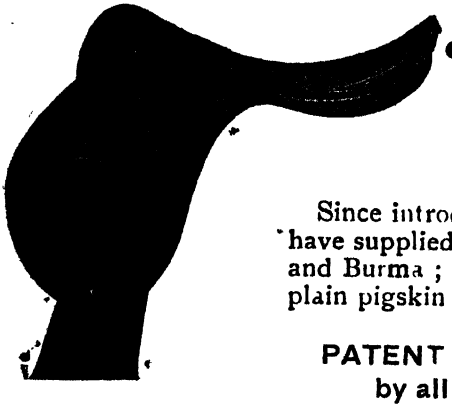
The question arises, why so noble-minded a man resorted to such unworthy means to expose his opponents. During the earlier years of his career as a polemical writer, Vidyáságar showed a temper, a magnanimity, and a consideration for his opponents which extorted admiration from his worst enemies. But he soon found that he had to contend with men who acted from unworthy motives. He also found that the so-called Bengali public, from their prejudices and ignorance, were incapable of judging between him and his opponents. This is the sad experience of everyone who has entered into *Shastric* controversy in Bengal. Fully conscious of his position, and fully alive to the fact that all his arguments and texts were equally futile, he resorted to the other expedient, of ridiculing his enemies and raising a laugh against them; and this he did very successfully. Their exposure was complete and they were be-littled for a time in the estimation of the public.

We have named three works at the head of this article. We have said something about two of them. The third is a shorter work, criticising the first and pointing out its errors

It is by Pundit Sambhu Chandra Vidyáratna, Vidyáságar's younger brother. Some of the exposures are amusing, and it is hoped that Babu Chandi Charan Banerji will take Pundit Sambhu Chandra's criticisms, though often harsh, in good part, and correct the errors pointed out in his second edition. It is a sign of the times that good biographies are being written, and that Bengalis are awakening to a desire to do honour to departed greatness.

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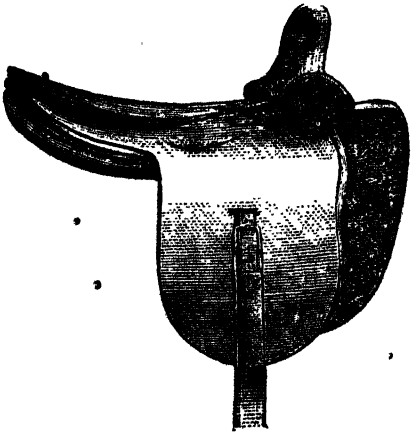
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ART. I.—THE QUATRAINS OF ABU SA'ID BIN ABU-L-KHAIR.

THE name of Omar Khayyam is now very familiar to English readers, thanks to Fitzgerald's fine rendering. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the admiration excited by that brilliant production has given rise to a veritable 'cult' of Omar, with its myths and all complete.

In one of his Quatrains, Omar himself makes appreciative mention of the sweet strains of his predecessor, whom he calls shortly Bu Sa'id. This was Abu Sa'id Fazlullah bin Abu-l-Khair, a celebrated Sufi saint, and the first considerable writer of Quatrains. Dr. Ethe, the learned author of the Catalogues of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian and India Office libraries, has, indeed, unearthed from various Tazkiras, a number of Quatrains by Kisai and other obscure poets of earlier date than Abu Sa'id, but none of them seem to have gained much celebrity. On the other hand, Abu Sa'id's Quatrains were admired in his own day, and have retained their popularity down to the present time. Thus, for instance, in a little chap-book published a few years ago at Teheran, we find a number of his Quatrains arranged for devotional use. There is a MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which contains no fewer than 250 Quatrains, but, as Sprenger remarks, all these are not really by Abu Sa'id. In 1875 Dr. Ethe published, in the Bavarian Academical Journal, 92 Quatrains ascribed to Abu Sa'id in various Tazkiras, accompanied by a sketch of his life, derived from the Haft Iqlim and other sources. According to these authorities Abu Sa'id was born in 396 A. H., at Mahna, a town in the district of Khavaran, in Khorasan. In early youth he felt drawn to a religious life, and became the disciple of Abu-l-Fazl Luqman, of Sarakhs, by whom he was admitted into one of the Darvesh orders. At Sarakhs he passed, it is said, seven years, practising the most rigorous asceticism. Finally, he became what is called a Mystic, that is to say, a man who, like Fox and Bunyan and others, is dominated and overpowered and

carried away by a vivid realization of the Unseen, an all absorbing consciousness of the Divine Being within him and around him. He would pass hours calling out, "Allah! Allah." At other times he would withdraw into the desert, and subsist on the flowers of the wild tamarind. His excessive religious enthusiasm was at first regarded with some suspicion by the ordinary Muslims; he was pelted by the women when he passed through the villages, and a formal charge of unorthodoxy was made against him. But the Qazi seems to have had the good sense to throw the charge out, and in this respect Abu Sa'id fared better than poor Bunyan. However, in course of time, the real goodness of the man was recognised, and the popular attitude towards him changed from one of suspicion to one of extravagant reverence. Considerable sums were paid for the peelings of the vegetables which he ate, and some enthusiasts went so far as to use the dung of his camel to rub their heads with. Abu Sa'id passed the latter part of his life at Amol in Tabaristan, and there he died in 440 A. H., at the early age of 44, his end being probably hastened by the austerities of his life.

The following specimens of his sayings are given in the Haft Iqlim. Being asked what is a Sufi, he answered:—"Forget whatever thou hast in thy head; give away whatever is in thy hand, and turn thy attention away from everything that happens to thee!" Again:—"The more one knows of the world, the less he knows of God." He said: "Love is God's snare", meaning that the feeling of attraction to God is divinely ingrafted in the heart, to cause him to seek communion with Him. This is well illustrated by one of the odes of Hafiz referred to further on. On one occasion Abu Sa'id conversed with the great philosopher, Avicena (Ibn Sina), and remarked: "I see (by spiritual intuition) all that he knows;" and rejoined:—"I know all that he sees." The point is, of course, that Abu Sa'id claimed to perceive by direct spiritual intuition all the conclusions Avicena had painfully deduced by the slow processes of the ordinary intellect. Abu Sa'id, in fact, claimed inspiration, which, according to a Hadis, is "a light descending upon the heart and showing all things as they are" This is referred to further on.

It is worthy of note that Abu Sa'id is said to have made a practice of introducing into his Quatrains some of the various names of God, whenever he could, and many of the Quatrains ascribed to him are found to have this feature. The specimens of his Quatrains which follow are taken from the sources already described. It is needless to say that the readings in the several texts are by no means uniform.

The following Quatrain is attributed to Abu Sa'id on good authority. If it was really written by him, it is conclusive evidence of the Sufi symbolism having been already formulated as

early as his time, a point which has been doubted. Sprenger found a special commentary on this Quatrain in one of the Oude libraries :

" The Huris stood in ranks my Love to see,
And Rizwan clapped his hands in ecstasy,
When the Mole casts a veil upon the Cheek
The saints in terror to the Koran flee.

We learn from the Gulshan-i-raz that " Cheek " means ' the manifestation of all the Divine names and attributes', that is to say, the whole creation, the world of phenomena, wherein God manifests himself. " Mole " means the Divine Unity, which comprehends in itself all existence and action. It should always be remembered that with the Sufis the doctrine of " Tauhid," or Unification, means far more than it does to the ordinary Muslim. To the latter it means simply that there are no other gods but One. To the Sufi it means that there is no other really existent being but God—that He is the only real Agent—,that (to use modern language) He is all the Matter and all the force in the universe. To return to the Quatrain, if we bear this explanation in mind, its meaning is plain. When the " Beloved " first manifested Himself to outward view in the creation, the denizens of Paradise were overcome by admiration and delight, just as Job tells us that, when Jehovah laid the foundations of the earth, " the morning stars sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy." But at the last day God will blot out His fair creation, withdrawing whatever of real existence it contains back into Himself, and then men's hearts will fail them for fear.

" Who may abide the day of His coming, or who shall stand when He appeareth ? "

Thus, at the final consummation of all things, to use the language of the Koran, " everything will fade away except the face of God," and He will become as it were the " heir" of all. And thus the doctrine of " Tauhid " will be established once for all, without possibility of further controversy or doubt. In another Quatrain, Abu Sa'id tries to show how this same doctrine was confessed even before the creation was accomplished. By a bold flight of imagination he goes back to the time before the creation, and pictures to himself the as yet uncreated, the potential, beings, still lying dormant, as it were, in the bosom of the One God who comprehended all. And he represents their very dormancy and lifelessness as a practical confession of the truth that nothing really exists save the One God.

" Ere heaven and stars essayed their course to run,
" Or earth, air, fire and water were begun,
" I spelled the secret of God's Unity,
" Though form or voice of senses I had none !

The ordinary Muslim view of the relation of the one God to his creatures is well illustrated by the often quoted parable of "*Alastu birabbikum*." "When the days of the creation were accomplished, God most High addressed to his new-born creatures the question: 'Am not I your Lord?' And they denied not, but confessed, saying: 'Yea, verily Thou art our only Lord.'" This, like "*kun fa yakunu*," "Be, and it was," is the language of a God extraneous (so to say) to his creation, not immanent in it—a God who creates by "willing," not by "being," as an old Greek theologian expresses it; a God who works by mere fiat, not by emanation or outpouring of himself. On the other hand, the Sufi view is that "in him we live and have our being." Our relation to him is something more than the relation of the clay vessels to the potter that fashioned them. For whatever of real being dwells within us is part and parcel of the infinite being of God, "deeply interfused" (to use Wordsworth's phrase) in the groundwork of our nature. We are, as it were, separated by the veil of the flesh from our original communion with the Godhead, and consequently the whole religious emotion of the Sufis may be said to be comprised in lamentations for this separation and aspirations for reunion. And, like the old Christian mystics, St. Theresa, Bernard of Clairvaux and the rest, they gave utterance to these feelings in the familiar language of earthly love. Abu Sa'id uses this language with more caution and reserve than some of his successors; but it must be admitted that some at least of his language seems somewhat irreverent and offensive to modern sentiment. There are some specimens of this curious form of hymnody:

> 'To the angelic choirs celestial song,
> To Heaven its righteous and to hell its wrong,
> To Cæsar, Shah and Sultan the wide world,
> To me my love, I to my Love belong."

Hafiz, in one of his finest Odes (Brockhaus 186), describes how, on the morning of creation, the glory of the Divine beauty was manifested to view, and love straightway possessed all the new-born creature, from the *Logos* (*'Aql-i kull*), the first born emanation from the Deity, down to man, the last born. And, after lamenting the suffering he endures from this divine love and longing, he declares his thankfulness for having been thought worthy to enjoy the privilege of such an ennobling and elevating sorrow. In like manner, Abu Sa'id is fond of dwelling on the pain he endures owing to his banishment from the Loved One's presence, and on the cruelty of the Loved One in refusing to admit him to reunion:

> "In Thine own house Thou gavest me a place,
> And with sweet intercourse my soul didst grace;

With all Thy charms Thou didst excite my love,
Then turned and to the desert set Thy face.

"There's not a stone in Khavaran's vast plain,
But bears upon its front some bloody stain,
At every league some lovelorn wight is seen,
His heart a-bleeding and his soul in pain.

"O Thou who like the moon dost ravish all,
By day and night the heart's desire of all,
If Thou dost treat me worst, alas for me!
But if all fare alike, Alas for all!

"Love came and on my soul its tempest beat,
Driving my sense and reason to retreat,
All friends forsook me saving one alone,—
My eyes who poured their treasures at my feet."

This "conceit" about the eyes has rather a modern look, but there is good authority for ascribing the Quatrain to Abu Sa'id. Dr. Ethe found it in three *Tazkiras*, and it also occurs in the Calcutta MS, though with some variation:

"O Friend, my heart is sorely tried by Thee,
And my soul wounded by Thy cruelty,
Thou sayest: 'I draw nigh to broken hearts,'
My heart is broken, O draw nigh to me!"

The following Quatrain alludes to the story of the daughter of Herodias, wife of Herod, who brought her mother the head of John the Baptist in a charger. Quicksilver breeze means the ever-moving or dancing breeze:—

"Quicksilver breezes, plains all rusty red,—
Come, see them, Love! forgive the past that's dead.
If Thou art gracious, here's a loving heart,
If cruel, here's a charger and a head!"

This breathes the spirit of the Quietist:—

"Even though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

With ardent emotional natures the ordinary language of resignation insensibly glides into extravagant professions of actual enjoyment of divine chastisements. This Quietistic spirit showed itself at a very early period in the history of Islam. In the *Tazkirat ul Auliya* we have an anecdote of one Rabi'a, of Basra, a woman greatly celebrated for her saintliness, who lived at the beginning of the second century of the Hijira. Malik Dinar, Hasan of Basra, and Shaqiq of Balkh, one day paid Rabi'a a visit, and the conversation turned upon sincerity (*Sidq*). Hasan said: "He is not sincere who does not patiently endure the blows of his Lord." Rabi'a replied: "That saying smells of egotism." The Shaqiq said: "He is not sincere in his pretensions who does not enjoy the blows of his Lord." Rabi'a rejoined: "I know a better saying than that." They said: "Repeat it." She said: "He is not sincere who does not forget the pain of the blows in the joy of beholding the face

of his Lord. If those Egyptian women forgot their painful wounds when they beheld Yusuf, what wonder is it that a man should experience a like forgetfulness when he looks upon his Creator?"

The saintly Madame Guyon quite agreed with Rabi'a on this point. In one of her hymns, translated by Cowper, she says—

"Love, if Thy destined sacrifice am I,
Come slay Thy victim and prepare Thy fires,
Drowned in Thy depths of mercy, let me die
The death that every soul which lives desires!"

The pains of annihilation are forgotten, and even enjoyed, as the means of bringing the soul to see its Lord face to face, and enabling it to abide for ever in Him. "*Baqa ba'd ul fana.*"

Abu Sa'id's next Quatrain recalls another doctrine held by the so-called Quietists, *viz.*, that of disinterested love to God. It runs as follows:—

"I sought the Leech and showed my secret pain;
He said, "From all but Me thy lips refrain;
"What must I eat?" He said, "Thy own heart's blood;"
"From what abstain?" "From both the worlds abstain."

The two worlds are this world and the world to come, and the meaning of the injunction is, that man must love God for his own sake alone, and not from the hope of present or future rewards, or from fear of punishments. To the high-strung Mystic 'other worldliness' seems as base as worldliness does to the ordinary religious man. Abu'abdullah Muhammad, a Sufi, who lived in the fourth century of the Hijira, and who is always spoken of in the *Nafahat ul Uns* as "the Shaikh of Islam," says that desire of the rewards of Paradise is a "veil," obstructing man's view of God, and diverting his attention from the Divine Benefactor Himself to the benefits granted by him. In like manner, during the Quietist controversy in the 17th century, the orthodox sticklers for the letter of Scripture (*Ahli Zahir*), headed by the great Bossuet, made a fierce onslaught on Fénelon, one of the most spiritually-minded men of that or any other time, on account of some unguarded language on this matter of 'Disinterested love to God,' which was thought to indicate some disparagement of the promises of future bliss. Whether Fénelon intended this, may be questioned; but, according to the Sufi view, a material Paradise is, of course, a vain dream. The pious soul, stripped of the garment of the body, finds its fruition in the "Beatific Vision," and in reunion and reincorporation with its Divine centre and source. And a very similar view was taken by William Law, author of the "Serious Call," one of the most popular devotional books of the last century. He probably derived it from the German Mystic, Jacob Behmen, whose works he translated.

To return to Abu Sa'id. His next Quatrain bears on the subject of the "Inner light," which, in one shape or other, confronts us in all Mystic writings:

"Long did I travail in the realm of thought,
And many a hair I split, yet mastered nought;
My mind emitted many a petty spark,
But not the perfect light I vainly sought."

In Barclay's "Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers" (edition of 1678, p. 126) there occurs this passage: "Yea, there is a book translated out of the Arabic which gives an account of one Hai Ebn Yokdan, who, without converse of men, living in an island alone, attained to such a profound knowledge of God as to have immediate converse with Him, and to affirm that the best and most certain knowledge of God is not that which is attained by premises premised, and conclusions deduced, but that which is enjoyed by conjunction of the mind of man with the Supreme Intellect, after the mind is purified from its corruptions and is separated from all bodily images, and is gathered into a perfect stillness." This passage, which, by the way, is distinctly affiliated to the language of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists, Proclus and Plotinus, well explains Abu Sa'id's meaning. Knowledge of God is to be sought, not by the ratiocinations of the intellect, but rather by closing the senses to all impressions of the external world, by stilling the tumult of the passions and by holding the intellect ("*Verstand*") in abeyance. Then the light is manifested in the unconscious ground of the soul ("*Vernunft*").

Of course, no religious man would venture to deny the possibility of such influence and operation of the Divine Spirit on the hearts of individual believers as is implied in this doctrine of the inner light; but religious men in all ages have been the first to recognise and admit the enormous amount of self-delusion and imposture which this doctrine inevitably generates. To give only two instances, Imam Ghazzali, in a passage given by Pococke and Sale, laments the extravagances and blasphemies of some ultra Sufis of his time, and Wesley, speaking of his own '*Energumens*,' confesses that "Satan sometimes mimicked the work of grace."

Similarly the doctrine of free grace, from the times of St. Paul downwards, has been often wrested into a quasi-justification of Antinomianism. The celebrated Philosopher Avicena (Ibn Sina), who was reputed to be somewhat of a free thinker, indited the following scoffing Quatrain:—

"We rest our hopes on Thy free grace alone,
Nor e'er by good deeds for our sins atone,

Mercy drops where it lists and estimates
Ill done as undone, good undone as done."

To this Abu Sa'id rejoined,—

"O, thou who dost no good, but ill alone,
And hopest Allah will thy sins condone,
Hope not for mercy, for good left undone
Cannot be done, nor evil done undone!"

A story is told of Luther, that, when he was holding a discussion with some Anabaptists, one of the speakers put forward similar antinomian views, and justified them on the ground that the "Spirit" had revealed them to him. At this Luther lost patience and replied in his rough German fashion:

"I smack that Spirit of thine on the snout!"

It must not be supposed that all Abu Sa'id's Quatrains are written in high-flown mystical phraseology. Many, perhaps, the majority, of them, are couched in the ordinary language of religious devotion. Thus we find him constantly bewailing his sins, the enormity of which, after the manner of pious men, he is inclined to exaggerate from excess of humility. Here are a few samples:—

"Men call me good, but they cannot discern
The evil hid within me; did they turn
Me inside out and see me as I am,
They'd deem me worthy at the stake to burn!"

The next recalls the Scriptural words, "My sins are more in number than the hairs of my head:"

"My sins outnumber the quick drops of rain,
Perforce I hang my head with shame and pain;
"Thou dost but what is fit," a voice replied,
"As I do what befits me,—that is plain."

"I love this world, yet hope for that to come,
Drink wine, yet long religious to become;
I join the claims of this world and the next
And so lose this world and the world to come."

Not a bad comment on the text, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

The following are specimens of the prayers, of which he has left many; the first reminds us of the text, "Thy grace is sufficient for me:"—

"To friendless me, O Allah, succour lend,
Thy favour is my all sufficient friend;
All have their lords to help them and protect,
I 've only Thee on whom I may depend!

"How long, O God of mercy and of grace,
Wend I from door to door and place to place?
Either unclose the lock of my distress,
Or shut the door for ever in my face!"

"Who need despair of Thy free grace? Not one;
All, blessed by Thee, eternal bliss have won,
Should Thy grace light upon a grain of dust,
'Twould shine more brightly than the brilliant sun!"

The next Quatrain alludes to what the Sufis call the "greater warfare," *viz.* that against a man's own evil passions and desires,—

"Those who in battle seek the martyr's crown,
And on love's martyrs with disdain look down,
Court death from foes, but lovers from the friend,
And thereby purchase loftier renown."

In another Quatrain, Abu Sa'id alludes to the Sufi doctrine of *Tasfiya*, or Purification, which was an attempt to exalt and spiritualize the Muslim ordinance of ceremonial ablution. According to this doctrine the heart and mind must be purified, and, to use the Scripture phrase, ablutions signify "not the mere putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God."

Of course, it was inevitable that this high spiritual teaching should be misunderstood and materialised. If we may judge from the little book printed at Teheran, and already mentioned, his Quatrains, and others manufactured in his name, are now recited as a kind of "*mantras*," or magical charms, against temporal evils and misfortunes, such as war, famine, poverty, fever, and even the plague of mosquitos! But Abu Sa'id can hardly be held answerable for this—the common fate of all spiritual teaching. His Quatrains certainly give one the impression that he was a really good and religious man, who endeavoured, according to his lights, to live the inner life of approximation to, and constant communion with, God. "The wand-bearers are many and the true mystics few," but, perhaps, Abu Sa'id was among those few.

E. H. WHINFIELD, B. C. S. *Retd.*

ART. II.—LETTERS OF CHARLES ALEXIS DAUVERGNE, PRINCE OF OLMUTZ.

La Petite Paroisse. Mœurs Conjugales. Par Alphonse Daudet. Paris, 1895.

FRANCE is the forlorn hope of our modern civilization and culture. Over her bleeding body, seamed with a hundred scars, the other European nations have marched to the conquest of liberty, equality, and fraternity. She threw herself into the breach against tyranny and bigotry when those evil giants were still hailed by the monarchs and the masses of the Continent by the names of Divine Right and Divine Truth, and she has not come unscathed out of the conflict.

She was unable to carry to its end the struggle which she had begun. The tremendous forces invoked by the great Revolution fell into the strong hands of an enemy of all the principles of that Revolution. The success of Napoleon was the product of the new order of things. He was the child of the Republic, and he strangled his mother with his own hands. He again clasped the fetters on newly freed thought and speech. As far as he dared, he again set up the old shams and the old lies for the iconoclast nation to worship. "It is a pity," said Delmas to him, on the occasion of the grand celebration of the Mass in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, "that there were only a million of men killed to destroy what you are setting up again to-day." But the old order always remained hostile to him, and he had betrayed and trampled on the new. So between the two he perished, and he dragged France down with him. His long and desperate wars against a world in arms exhausted the physical resources of France, and sapped the manhood of the nation. Since then her population has remained stationary, and other nations, which were then inferior to her, have surpassed her in numbers and resources.

The French Revolution has been called "a splendid suicide." But the French nation is not dead yet, though it certainly inflicted a mortal wound upon itself by the destruction of its aristocracy. The practical use of an aristocracy may be tested by comparing the public life of France and England. Politicians in the latter country have preserved the aristocratic traditions, and serve their country without the stimulus of lucre, or the hope of gain. In Republican France, as in Democratic America, politics is a trade, and a dirty one at

that. The English aristocracy, though it may have black sheep among it, as what body of men has not, on the whole, worthily fulfils its functions, setting a high standard of political morality, of honour, and of uprightness before the whole nation. And the English people, though yearly becoming more and more imbued with democratic principles, still follows the lead of an aristocracy which has its ranks from time to time recruited by the selection of new members from among the worthiest, the wealthiest, and the most eminent in the nation.

"But if the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" The French aristocracy had lost its faith in itself before it fell under the contempt and anger of the nation. The theories of Rousseau and the sarcasms of Voltaire had sapped its belief in the order of things with which its own existence was bound up; had destroyed its trust in honour and loyalty, its reverence for the throne, its devotion to the flag. The fall of the French monarchy witnessed no Naseby.

In the regenerated nation, its vacant place was for only a short time assumed by the military aristocracy created by Napoleon. But its members, brave and talented as most of them were, were never welded into a homogeneous body, and failed as conspicuously as their predecessors in duty and loyalty in the time of trial. It is to this latter body that the author of the following letters is supposed to belong, though his frivolous and cynical spirit might warrant the deduction of his genealogy from the former. History repeats itself, and the *Fin-de siécle* lucubrations of the Prince of Olmutz might well have been written in the penultimate decade of the eighteenth century by a noble lieutenant of dragoons under the *ancien régime*.

M. Alphonse Daudet is in the first flight of living French novelists. Inferior to Emile Zola in photographic accuracy of detail, and to Pierre Loti in scenic effect and vivid colouring, he surpasses them both in graphic presentation of character and in faithful delineation of contemporary manners. Holding the mirror up to nature, he shows us the inner life of the French nation with the picturesque fidelity of a George Eliot. There is no doubt that he intends the epistolary achievements of this eloquent and unprincipled young scamp, who scoffs at every law, human and Divine, with cynical effrontery, as a typical expression of the mind of "*la jeunesse dorée* of the French nation at the present day.

M. Daudet's works have always a moral purpose; and the moral of this, his latest story, is the lesson conveyed in the words of our Lord in the eleventh verse of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. "La Petite Paroisse" takes its name from the Memorial Church built and endowed at Uzelles on the Seine by the pious care of the aged M. Mérivet,

and bearing on a tablet let into its wall the following inscription :—

NAPOLEON MERIVET
Chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Gregoire-le-Grand
a bati cette Eglise
en memoire de son épouse Irène
et
En a fait donation à la Commune des Uzelles.

These lines enshrined the secret of a domestic drama, of a woman's frailty and a husband's indulgent forgiveness. The good old Mérivet was not one of those modern moralists who plead for equal justice in the relations of the sexes. He was content to plead for equal mercy.

The main interest of the story centres in two households, the bourgeois family of Fénigan at Uzelles, and the noble house of Dauvergne at Grosbourg, on the other side of the Seine. Richard Fénigan was the only son of a retired notary, who had withdrawn from business to spend the evening of his life in the sylvan retirement of his country-house at Uzelles. Richard, the only son of a late marriage, was left by the death of his father to the sole care of his widowed mother, a stern and capable dame, who ruled her domain, her dependents, and her son with equal ability and authority ; and the boy, as he grew up, remained tied to his mother's apron-strings, ignorant of the world, and unaccustomed to self-reliance, a country gentleman, occupying himself only with shooting, fishing, and other rural sports, and ill at ease, even in the limited society of the country-side. His mother discouraged his marrying, jealous of a rival in his affections, and in the empire of the household ; and she was sorely vexed when he fixed his young affections on the pretty and penniless Lydia, a foundling brought up by the sisters at the Orphanage of Soisy. The infant had been found at the convent gate one morning, wrapped in a blanket with a coronet worked in the corner ; which circumstance, combined with the high bred appearance and finely cut features of the child, and her passionate love for music, persuaded the good nuns that their treasure trove was the outcast bearer of some noble name. Madame Fénigan could not bear to see her darling son unhappy, and Richard married Lydia. But the younger woman, after her marriage displayed a spirit and a temper which the elder had not counted upon ; and, in the state of domestic warfare that ensued, the unfortunate Richard found himself in a dilemma between the two women whom he loved, secretly espousing his wife's side, while openly he yielded to his imperious mother.

And on the other side of the Seine, in the lordly mansion and princely park of Grosbourg, lived the General Dauvergne, Duke of Alcantara, son of the Marshal of *la grande Armée* who had won, on Spanish and German battle-fields, the titles that he transmitted to his descendants. The second Duke followed in his father's steps, and rivalled his fame in Algeria and in Italy ; and, moreover, repaired the fallen fortunes of the family by marrying the only daughter of Baron Silva, the great financial magnate of Vienna. The one offspring of their marriage, heir to his father's fame and his mother's fortune, was a son, whose name, combining those of his grandfather and father, they endearingly contracted into "Charlexis," a well-beloved and highly accomplished youth, on whose education and equipment for the battle of life no pains or expense had been spared. He was known by his father's second title of Prince of Olmutz ; but we think that M. Daudet has here committed an historical solecism, as "Prince" was a higher distinction than "Duke" in the Peerage of the Sword instituted by the great Conqueror. Thus Marshal Ney was Duke of Elchingen, and afterwards Prince of Moskwa. Davoust was Duke of Anerstadt and Prince of Eckmuhl. But for the purposes of our story Charlexis must remain Prince of Olmutz ; and at the time it opens, he is, for the first time, making the acquaintance of Richard and Lydia Fénigan at a *battue* in the forest of Senart. Old Natory Fénigan had been the man of business of the first Duke, who had witnessed the register at Richard's baptism ; but the different spheres in which the families moved had interrupted their intercourse, till the charms of the youthful Madame Fénigan impress the susceptible old General and his eighteen-year-old son, who is a true chip of the old block. But soon after the intercourse is re-opened, the Duke of Alcantara, '*grand noceur et joueur*' in his day, is struck down with paralysis, and young hopeful is left without a rival in the field. The "joli blondin," with his charming manners, good taste, amiable disposition and manly accomplishments, soon becomes a prime favorite with all the Fénigan household, even with the mother-in-law, whose heart he wins by his sympathetic interest in the garden and the poultry-yard. He soon has the run of the house like a tame cat, and, with precocious and cold-blooded wickedness, he digs his pits in the darkness, and spreads his snares in the night, and eventually succeeds in seducing the heart of Lydia from its allegiance to her husband. Tired, after a time, of the tame monotony of surreptitious wickedness, he essays a bolder flight, and persuades Lydia to accompany him in it. The story of his adventure is best told in his own words.

FIRST LETTER.

Grosbourg, 6th April 1886.

MY DEAR VALLONGUE,—My place at your side on the forms of the Army class at Stanislas will be vacant to-day, and for ever more. It's all over. I renounce Saint-Cyr, and the martial renown of which it seems to me that our family has already had more than its fair share. From the time of my grandfather, Charles Dauvergne, who became, under the first Empire, successively Marshal, Duke of Alcantara and Prince of Olmütz, down to my poor devil of a father, bowled over by a paralytic stroke at the head of the third Army Corps, my illustrious ancestors have left no laurels ungathered for me to gain. You know the Russian bowl in our state drawing-room in the Rue de Chanabilles, where all the family decorations are dished up? Well, it's full to overflowing, that bowl. What am I to do, then? Nothing. I've made up my mind to do nothing. Eighteen years of age, an only son, heir to a distinguished name and a handsome fortune, and also probably to Papa's unlucky constitution, reason warns me to lose no time in enjoying to the full whatever pleasures life has to give. I'm going to commence. You saw me writing two surreptitious letters during the Trigonometry class the other day? Well, one was addressed to Captain Nuitt of Cardiff, telling him to join me at the little Port of Cassis, at the mouth of the Rhone, with the yacht, "Bleu-Blanc-Rouge," manned by a crew of eight hands, besides cook and steward, all complete, for ten thousand francs a month. The second letter was to apprise my travelling companion; for you can fancy that I shall not embark unaccompanied. You don't know the lady; at least she does not figure in the collar-box in which you and I have so often sorted the letters and the portraits of my favourites. I may tell you that she is married, and our neighbour opposite Grosbourg, on the other side of the Seine. Hardly thirty years old, with limpid blue eyes, always cast down, which, when by chance she raises them, light up her face like the gleam of a necklace of pearls; a timid air; the long white hands of a practised *pianiste*, in old-fashioned mittens; childless, adored by her husband, and made much of by everybody all round. I had only to write to her, "Come;" and she replied, "Coming;" and here she is leaving husband, house, family, everything, to embark with a companion as youthful and as unreliable as yours truly. Haven't I often said that women are "kittle cattle!" For me, one is as good as another. I love "*tutte le donne*" too well to give the preference to any one of them. As soon as I've bitten into one of these delicious *bonbons*, I want to chuck it away and forage in the box for another, in the vain hope of finding the super-exquisite flavour

which I always expect, but never can taste. Wish me better luck this time, my dear Vallongue.

By the time you get this, I shall be off under full sail, and the maledictions of my bereaved parents will resound to heaven. Serve them right! It's all their own fault. If they had let me loose in Paris, instead of shutting me up, first at Grosbourg, and then at Stanislas, you may be pretty sure I shouldn't have levanted like this. But my mother, the Duchess, who is not sorry to be away from "her men," as she calls us, thought herself very clever in assuring my steadiness and industry by making me the companion of my father's sick room. She forgot that solitude brings evil thoughts into the mind, and did not take into consideration that the perpetual view of the slope of Uzelles, with its little white Church, where the wood pigeons from the forest nest, might make me melancholy, and turn my thoughts to flight. As for the General, by imprisoning me at Stanislas, he decided me to escape. Some day I will amuse you with the recital of the fire-side drama acted by the illustrious invalid and myself while I was staying at the Château.

Ah! Vallongue, how I have pondered over things in general, alone there in the evenings, in that vast Grosbourg, wandering in the immense park, or on the terrace by the river. How eagerly and how searchingly have I gazed into life—the life of others, and my own, the most complex of all. And the result of these researches is that I find myself, at eighteen years of age, already old and tired, unmoved by ambition, uninspired by love, interested by nothing, seeing beforehand the sure end of every joy. Why am I like this? Whence have I gained the precious experience, this despite for all that is, this wrinkled age, which I feel creeping through all my youthful veins? Is it common to all this generation, to those who have been nicknamed the "children of the conquered," because they were born about the time of the war and the invasion? Or is it peculiar to my family, the old soil exhausted by too lavish harvests and now claiming a long fallow? By God! I'm not the one to disappoint it of the fallow.

And to begin with, women and yachting appearing to me to be the only agreeable distractions, I propose to partake of them both freely. Up to now, as sailor and lover, I have only made a few trial trips. This time I am off on a long cruise. And if my confidences interest you, my dear Wilkie, I promise to keep for your behoof a truthful journal or log-book of the adventures and travels of a soul which the General-Duke, my father, has done me the honour to describe as being as dark and dangerous as a combat in the night.

CHARLEXIS.

The name of Captain "Nuitt" is probably an attempt of M. Daudet's to reproduce phonetically the English name of Knight. The Prince's second and following letter is not dated, and is apparently written as a journal from time to time. The M. "Poum-poum" alluded to in it is Richard Fénigan, so nicknamed by the lively Charlexis from his habit of meditatively humming to himself Lydia's favourite airs. The lively, though pessimistic, youth also conferred the *sobriquet* of "Madame Loir" (Mrs. Dormouse) on Richard's mother, from the constant warfare she waged against those little depredators of her fruit-garden.

The following letter is the longest of the series. The episode of the adventure of the writer with the young widow, Nina Nansen, will recall to the readers of Brantome the story of the woman of Smyrna related by him in his "Femmes Galantes."

SECOND LETTER.

MY DEAR VALLONGUE,—Your letter has been forwarded to me here from Messina, which was to have been my first port of call, for our journey round the world has come to a sudden and speedy termination.

The effect produced upon the good folk at Stanislas by my disappearance, the address of the Director in the refectory, the pious prayer of Father Salignon for the prompt return of the lost sheep, and all the other precise and picturesque details which you have given me of the events following on my departure, amused me highly; and I was only too glad to be amused, for, I can assure you, the *rôle* of Don Juan is not all plain sailing.

Pray accept my excuses and thanks for all the trouble you took, carrying my traps to Grosbourg in that pouring rain, and also for the very frugal meal which they would serve you on the very splendid plate with the family crest. Don't humbug me. I know the fare when the Duchess is there. Preserved plums and almonds and raisins on the table for dessert, when fruit is at its finest; and, besides, you've had to do with a Duchess in a very bad humour, for I had just been applying to her for more money. In such circumstances, the blood of Baron Silva boils and cries out against its spendthrift offspring. The ill-humour of my father is not so easily accounted for. If, as you say, he is slowly but surely recovering the use of his limbs, he ought to be jovial under the circumstances. As for Master John, my old tutor, that word "*cavata*," which he whispered to you *apropos* of his hopeful scholar, has not any particular reference to the collar-box, where I used to keep my *billets-doux* and love-tokens. He

only wanted to convey to you that I am an irresistible captivator of the sex. The old chap may well believe it, as he couldn't well help, being as assiduous an audience of my *amours* as I was of his violoncello. Yes, the little white clock-tower on the top of the ridge, with some cottages nestling round it, which you saw through the driving rain, with the green curtain of the forest of Senart as a back ground, is the Church of Uzelles. They call it down there the "little Parish," or, more picturesquely, the "Parish of the good Cuckold," after the good old chap who built it. A place particularly suitable for my exploit.

It was there, one morning last month, at day light, that I was waiting for my Mistress, Madame F., in a brougham, with the Grosbourg coat-of-arms and liveries, which, you will admit, was a cool piece of cheek. The excellent Alexander had made all the preparations for our flight, supplied the cash, and mapped out the *routes*. I take this opportunity of recommending the fellow to you. He is expensive, but incomparable.

Reached Melun through the woods; took the train to Lyons, and, after resting there for a few hours, off again to Cassis, where we arrived on the evening of the second day. The whole journey truly enchanting. This lovely woman, coming straight from her bed into my carriage, through the thyme and the dew; our fearful joy in fancying ourselves pursued in our mad career through the woods, amid the breaking of the branches, the rustling of the leaves; above all, the subtle and sombre pleasure of breaking the law, of escaping from duty, of poaching in prohibited preserves. Then, to top up with Cassis; the sea; and there, at the end of the pier, the Blue-Blanc-Rouge, with her big mainsail brailed up, only waiting for us to spread her white wings, and away. All that, oh! super-exquisite. But hardly had we weighed anchor in the lovely summer evening beneath a green and amber sky, I and my beloved stretched on the deck, drinking in the joy of existence, lulled by the rhythmic chant of the crew of a Neapolitan coral-boat on the same tack, whose joyous voices mingled with the musical rippling of the waves under our lee, and the flickering of the pennon at the mast-head, when, horrible, most horrible, my well-beloved was suddenly seized with the most atrocious sea-sickness, which continued all night, and all next day, and obliged us to suspend our voyage for a month, for two months, perhaps for ever. Could there be a more complete *fiasco?* I told you what a delightful shipmate I had chosen, of all others, fond of travel and adventure, keen on boating and sailing, as good at handling a tiller, or easing a sheet, as I am myself, the very type of a yachtswoman. Go to! She must needs be sea-sick—and such sea-sickness! incurable, unimaginable.

What was to be done now? Give up my grand cruise? Send the "Bleu-Blanc-Rouge" back to Cardiff, making the brave Nuitt a present of the five-hundred pounds, advanced towards three months' pay and expenses? I hadn't the heart to do it. Nor to go and settle down respectably—"the Countess" and I—Count and Countess des Uzelles in hotel registers, and to neighbours at the *table d'hôte*—in a villa on the shores of the lake of Lucerne or of Geneva, to go on afterwards to the Italian lakes. *La vie à deux* under these conditions would be suicide by ennui, unless you were enamoured, or *consumptive*, which is not my form, nor yours either, Ch. Vallongue?

To take time to think it over, I ran my yacht under the lofty shelter of the rocks of Monaco, and hired the first floor of one of those *caravanserais*, at Monte Carlo, which are ostentatiously grouped round the great temple of chance. Although it is not yet the season, there are crowds round the *roulette* tables, crowds mostly of foreigners. At first I won a good round sum; then I lost, not only all that I had gained, but the forty or fifty thousand *francs* as well that I still had left. By ill-luck, Alexander not being at Uzelles to respond to my application for money, I was obliged to ask Captain Nuitt to let me have back what I had already advanced to him. You can fancy his surprise, his stupefaction. And the pay of the crew, by God? And the keep of Mistress Nuitt? For eight mortal days I was deafened by this jargon, with variations enough to make you die of laughter by the Captain, the mate, the steward, with their puzzled and perplexed good, honest English faces, following me everywhere, to the post-office, to the gaming tables, displaying on the broad terraces of the hotel, under the shady avenues of the town, the frantically comical gestures one sees in a pantomime by Hanlon Lee. Finally, the dibs arrived; Captain Nuitt, his wife, and his crew paid up and satisfied, I continue to play, because I find the time hang heavy, but take good care not to let myself in for such an embarrassing situation again.

Very much vexed at first by the *contretemps* of which she was the cause, my mistress soon recovered herself, thanks to two fine instruments by Pleyel, and to the complaisant auditory of our *caravanserai*. In addition, her pleasure in the comfort, the elegance, and above all, the incomparable delight of hearing the butler announce "*Madame la Comtesse est servie*" as she enters the dining-room on the arm of Monsieur le Comte. Titles, coats of arms, these are the dreams of this little *bourgeoise* without a family name, and who, in the orphanage, where she was reared, grew up with the idea that she came of noble, of arch noble, blood. True, she does not lack distinction; her figure slender and graceful, her features finely chiselled,

her manner calm and proud ; but feet large and hands large, convenient enough for the piano, keyboard and pedal, but not re-assuring as to her origin Would she love me were I not myself a prince and son to a Duke? I doubt it. She is too young to be bitten with my juvenility, like a mature Baroness, the friend of my mother, greedy for a youthful prey. Rather does my youth trouble her (though my eighteen years are certainly not betrayed by my style or figure), and also the simplicity, the ingenuousness of youth which she observes in me. Poor girl!

There are still some sentimental women left. My mistress is one of those who would say to you: "Come and weep upon my bosom." And by the same token, my dear Wilkie, I will now tell you what may be of use to you some time or other, how I was able to vanquish her last resistance. We were alone one evening in an arbour at the end of the park. What strategy it had cost me to get her there! Nothing more to be had ; prayers, entreaties, advanced me no further. To complete the silliness of my situation—and it is easy enough to feel silly in such a dilemma—a fly got into my eye. I was rubbing it vigorously, still urging my attack ; my eye reddened, got inflamed, and suddenly I feel her surrendering. "Oh! you are crying? you doubt that I love you? Oh! no, don't cry, don't doubt—take me." And she is under the same illusion ; she still thinks me deeply in love with her, without her being herself very much in love with me.

Is it not curious that she should have plunged into such an adventure with so little of the provocation of passion? Is it true, as she says to me, that she was tired of lying? For, after all, it is not tiresome ; and, in the duel between man and woman, the weapon of weakness, the weapon infantine and feminine, the pretty little fib, shaped by artistic little wits, seems to me the most amusing trick in the game. No ; having to lie did not tire her. She was tired of herself, that was all ; tired of a monotonous and useless life. She preferred to submit herself to all the caprices of my eighteen years, to all the dangers of a fire-balloon with fuel of straw. What does she expect? Even supposing that she got a divorce, there are a thousand pretexts that I could allege for refusing to marry her at my age and in my position. Besides, it would not be so easy for her to get a divorce. Her husband, Mr. F, we supposed to be a peaceable sort of chap, but Alexander tells me that he is in a furious rage, and may fall upon us any fine morning. But this marital jealousy troubles me less than that of my father, the General.

Yes, my dear Vallongue, my father is jealous of me ; is madly in love with my mistress, who, I believe, in her heart of

hearts, really cherishes a more tender feeling for the hero of Wissemborg than for his innocent son. Is this feeling akin to pity, or does it date from before the General's illness? I can't tell you; but for months and months I 've watched them, she at the piano, he in his invalid chair, exchanging looks more meaning than words, and I have felt that, with a heroine of this sort, a veteran full of years and honours might prove a dangerous rival. The governor, too, kept his eye on me; mistrusted 'la cavata;' was, no doubt, suspicious that my superior soundness of wind and limb might distance him in the race. Ah! how miserable I must have made him, when she came to spend an afternoon at Grosbourg, and I used to take her round the house and garden! Imagine Don Juan Dot-and-go-one, the arch-deceiver who, according to his own account, scored of everyone, and was never yet scored off, imagine him nailed to his arm-chair, craning round a corner, spying through a window, saying to himself: "Where have they got to? What are they up to?" Suspicious, furious, raving and weeping, dragging himself along on his crutches to spy and listen at key-holes! That was my father. I can well see how, to put an end to his torture, he hit on the idea of boxing me up at Stanislas; to which I riposted with *tac* to *tac*, by the double *escampette* of student and sweetheart. Now, it may quite possibly happen, since the false start of the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge has brought us within reach of his claws, that my father might take advantage of my minority to imprison me once again at Grosbourg, or Stanislas. No! It would be too ridiculous to go to school again. And with my mistress, too! The tunic would become her so well! That is certainly a termination to the adventure which she has not counted on.

Does she think at all of any termination to it? It is difficult for me to find out whether she does or does not And surely there is something strange in this reserve, this impenetrable barrier between the minds of two people who live in such close proximity; who sleep under the same mosquito-curtain. Sometimes I imagine the cry of horror that she would utter, if she could suddenly penetrate my soul, the soul from whose troubled depths I myself recoil with terror; if *she* could suddenly sound them, what a frightful awakening! If she were only to open this letter! It would kill whatever love she may yet have for me; or would it have the opposite effect? Who was that Duchess of the last century who declared that, in order to truly love a man, a woman must despise him a little? Suppose that I tired of my mistress, and, thinking to disgust her with me, should show myself in my true colours, and, instead, change her fancy for me into a real passion. No; better leave it in the hands of Fate and of Notre Dame de Fourviéres, in whom the dear

girl has the most implicit trust ; so much so, that, though she had come away from home with next to nothing on, she wanted directly we got to Lyons, before even buying herself a chemise, to go to Fourviéres and rig herself out with amulets and rosaries, I was not the man to dissuade her. Holy medals look so well on a fair bosom ; pleasure is so precious when it savours of sin; so luscious when it is flavoured with remorse and fear.

Among the foreigners of diverse nationality who at this season inhabit our hotel, or who simply come here for their meals, we have got acquainted with a young married couple named Nansen. The husband is a Swede, professor of some faculty of science or other in his country, who, being consumptive, came to spend a long holiday in the South of Italy. He is now returning from it, married, eight months gone, to the pretty daughter of a Palermitan hotel-keeper. A regular honey-moon couple, north and south, wedded together and amusingly contrasted with each other. The man, red haired, spectacled, mild, ricketty arms, and legs all over the shop, northern eyes, soft and limpid. Some one has said :—"As we go north-ward, the people's eyes grow small and dim." Not such are the fine dusky eyes of Nina, Madame Nansen ; two tempting black grapes, glittering and sparkling in her fair Italian face. For a young woman a little too plump, but natural and grace-ful, frisking and laughing with her husband like a favourite mistress, reminding one of a blossoming flower spreading its petals to the sun. Our presence at the hotel, where they come for their meals from their villa close by, evidently troubled the harmony of the young *ménage* The fresh toilettes of my Parisienne, and her thoroughbred style, evidently made an im-pression on Nansen, who began to find his Nina's frocks loud and her manners vulgar. But the poor chap was evidently too shy to give me any hope that he might relieve me on guard, however much he (or I) may have wished it. Whence comes this shyness, so common to us, so unknown to women ? I have told you about M. Poum-poum. Nansen's timidity makes me think of him. One of those fellows who trip if you look at them when they are walking, who must make an effort to push open the door of a shop, and, when in the street, hug the walls, as if they wanted to efface themselves.

Poum-poum, who was wont to confide in me, once told me of a friend of his who used to prime himself with Dutch courage when he wanted to make himself agreeable to his wife, and I've always suspected that he himself was that friend. My Swede is one of that sort. One evening, in the drawing-room, he was playing one of Brahm's slow valses, and watching my mistress all the time with an ecstatic gaze. I was near him, and said aside to him : "Take care, Nansen, people can see." Instead of ask-

ing me what it was they could see, he got very red, and let his spectacles fall upon the keys.

When I teased Lydia about her lover-in-dumb-show, she smilingly replied :—'But it strikes me that you are not quite indifferent to the wife, either?" And, in fact, *la petite* Nina did attract me doubly, both as woman and as foreigner; and her fondness for her husband was very interesting. Did my mistress suspect how it interested me? Was it through apprehension of my roving fancy that she suddenly decided to quit Monte Carlo? Any how, one morning, a week ago, when Captain Nuitt came as usual, in his phlegmatic way, for orders, she declared herself ready to re-embark, in spite of the adverse opinion of the doctors. We determined to make Genoa, and, in case this short voyage should not disagree with her, to go on to Malta, and further.

"Suppose we give the Nansens a lift as far as Genoa?" said I, in as indifferent a tone as I could assume. After looking at me as if she would read my soul through my eyes, which, in truth, I found rather embarrassing, she replied proudly :—'We will take the Nansens with us." And at two o'clock that very afternoon the "Bleu-Blanc-Rouge" left Monaco with all sail set. But, before evening had set in off Ventimiglia, we got caught in a regular Levanter: hail, thunder, hurricane, the sea running mountains high, and Madame F. helpless and motionless in her berth, with only enough strength left to groan. In the saloon, lighted up by the flashes, Nansen was hanging over a basin, too sea-sick to think any more of love. We might have rolled upon the sofas, kissed each other before his face, his wife, and I; he was past caring for anything. But the poor Ninette was far from any such frivolity. Frightened out of her wits, she passed the night on her knees, clinging to the arm chair of her husband, and, each time that the lightning flashed through the ports, there were frantic signings of the cross, prayers and sobs, "Saint Barbara, Saint Helena, Saint Mary Magdalene!" To flirt under such circumstances would have required the romantic mind and blasphemous soul of one of the heroes of Eugene Sue's novels.

Next day, new complications. Nansen was in such a state of prostration from his sickness, and our medicine chest so deficient, that we had to put in at San Remo for the sake of our invalids. During the afternoon, while the "Bleu-Blanc-Rouge" made endless tacks to recover her berth by the side of His Highness' yacht under the lee of the rock of Monaco, we returned to Monte Carlo by rail. At the hotel I found a letter waiting for me from my father, a clarion call, a martial appeal to my honour and patriotism. For the last hundred years there had always been a Dauvergne under the colours, and

well to the front at that. If war should break out to-morrow, if France should have need of her sons, who was there to represent us? Several pages of this style of thing, all to persuade me to give up my mistress, and enter myself at Saint-Cyr. You may imagine how much I was touched.

War bores me. I think it both dull and repulsive. There are two ways of looking at the battle-field, one the vertical, that of the *beau sabreur*, sword in hand, foot in stirrup, the fumes of whiskey in his head; the other, the horizontal, that of the fallen hero who drags along his body gaping with reeking wounds, through mud and blood. The last is the only way that I can look at it; and it disgusts me, if it does not frighten me. The day after Wissembourg, my father said, speaking of the battle-field: "*Il y avait de la viande.*"

It is thus that I think of war, all butcher's meat, quivering and bleeding human flesh, not healthy, wholesome, living flesh. And yet I believe I am no coward. Ah, if you had seen me, the other night, dipping my nose in the salt spray with the stout crew of the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge, you would not have seen me flinch. No, I have my nervous moments sometimes, like other people; but I must confess that I shrink from carnage. Besides, the words country, flag, family, awaken in my mind only mocking echoes, mere sound and fury signifying nothing. You feel the same, my dear Vallongue, with this difference, that, with you, all your ideas are the fruit of study and reflection. Your brain, like that of all young Frenchmen, is a conquest of German philosophy, a much more serious conquest for us than that of Alsace or Lorraine. Kant, Hartmann, above all, the other famous one, you know whom I mean, have before our eyes, bit by bit, stripped human nature of all its disguises. The science of sentiment and sensation has destroyed in us the faculty of feeling.

But, as for me, who know nothing, who have read nothing, and learnt nothing, how is it that I am at the same depth of moral lassitude and decrepitude? Why am I, at eighteen years of age, already withered and decayed? Whence comes this contempt for every duty, this hate for every task, this revolt against every law? With my name, my fortune, and my youth, I have the soul of an anarchist. Why so? You, Vallongue, to whom I have laid bare my soul, who know me better than I know myself, can you explain the riddle of me to myself? Do you simply read me—as your letter seems to say—as the product of the new school, a specimen of the latest type of human evolution? Then there is a surprise in store for our elders. There is not much in common, I know, between those who come and those who go; but this journey, if I may judge from my experience of my father and myself, the bridge is

clean broken down between the two generations, and the misunderstanding between those on the other bank and those on this may easily ripen into hate.

Anyhow, I read between the lines of the General's letter, seeing in it nothing but his restoration to active life, and his desire to see once more his dear Madame F. on whom, I must say, his flowers of martial eloquence produced much more effect than on myself. The eyes of my sentimental sweetheart filled with tears; but for some time past these fits of sensibility have been somewhat frequent with her, and somewhat disquieting to me. That *would* be a lively look out! However, this time her tears were due to a purely moral sentiment; she was, I could see, quite overcome, ready for any sacrifice. Ah! the old Lascar! the letter was not so much for me as for her, who read it over my shoulder; and I now foresee another and more striking demonstration of paternal affection. I bet you that he'll turn up here, acting the part of the heavy father in the melodrama, to enfold in his arms his prodigal son and his mistress at the same time, killing two birds with one stone. If he thinks that I am going to wait for him! Besides, *Roulette* has no more charms for me; another sensation gone by the board; it is certainly not worth the misery of broiling in this African climate, blinded by sun and stifled with dust, and deafened by the stridulous sound of the grasshoppers, which seems like the continually recurring expression of the reverberating rays of the blinding light.

The best course would be to re-embark on my yacht, entrusting Lydia to the care of some friends, who might conduct her by land to some quiet corner of Brittany or Italy. But what friends? It's all over with the Nansens. I forgot to tell you that the unfortunate Swede has been carried off by a sudden access of phthisis, not long after we landed. *Apropos* of which, Mr. Philosopher, I am going to submit, for your judgment and verdict, a case so difficult and mysterious as to be almost indescribable.

Here was the Swede then, departed *ad patres*. For two days we lived in an atmosphere of death, my mistress passing her time in consoling the distracted widow. I and my brave Nuitt, whose enforced leisure I employ in all kinds of odd jobs, meanwhile busy with the triple coffin of oak, pine and lead, which was to convey the corpse to the final resting place in its own far off country, as well as with the matter of its transport and transit. We literally lived upon this defunct Swede. His ashes seemed to insinuate themselves into our victuals, to mingle with our dreams. The third day, yesterday morning, the "Countess" said to me:—'You must go and see Nina: You have been so good and helpful to her, she wants to thank you."

Nothing extraordinary in such a visit. Why did I experience such emotion, such passionate emotion, as I entered the grounds of the little villa Nansen, at the bottom of a purple ravine, ten minutes' walk, at most, from the sea? Was it the sirocco, or the heavy scent of the oleanders? My mouth felt parched, my hands burning, and my whole being seized with a sensual vertigo which seemed mingled with a feeling of the approach of death. And the presence of the king of terrors made itself felt there, sensibly enough, filling the little house with the gloom and disorder of his reign. Some of the windows were opened wide, others hermetically closed, while through their chinks shone the dim yellow rays of wax candles paling in the garish light of day; and everywhere, throughout the garden, among the laurel trees, the horrible smell of chemicals and sawdust, the atmosphere of the sick-room and the undertaker's shop.

I waited for five minutes in the parlour on the ground floor, seated on a cane sofa. A step on the stair—Nina. I told you, didn't I, that there had been nothing between this woman and me. On the eve of her loss, we had laughed and joked together the whole evening on the terrace of the hotel—a lively flirtation. But she was only amusing herself with me; she was all the time watching her husband, who was seated at the piano with my mistress. I had not seen her since. Why, can you tell me, was I certain of what was going to happen?

She came in, very pale, dressed in a black frock, hurriedly put on, it's gimp bodice showing off her lithe and rounded figure. Her eyes shone under their reddened and swollen eyelids. She threw herself down beside me without a word; our hands touched; the spark caught. "Ah! Monsieur Charley." I had her in my arms, strained to my heart, overcome with emotion, worn out with long nights of vigil, half swooning in my fevered embrace, her kiss savouring of morphia and phenol. Just at that instant her landlady came in to ask for a pair of sheets, and deprived me of the prize when it seemed within my grasp, and of an opportunity which can never return.

Well, my philosopher, what do you think of that? By what diabolical prompting could this woman have torn herself from the dead whom she truly loved, whom she sincerely mourned, to fall straightway into my arms? Does the breath of Aphrodite breathe in the air of the charnel vault? Or is it life simply seeking desperately to be avenged of it's enemy's death in a sudden and vehement outburst? I have an idea that doctors know more than they choose to tell of these moments of depression and derangement, by which they sometimes, perhaps, profit. One other time, under still more painful circumstances, I myself, Vallongue, have felt the same strange and mysterious influence, the sympathy of love and death!

I had thought not to have sent you this journal till we had decided on our next halting-place; but here we are off on our wanderings again. It is not my father who has turned up after all; it is Othello! This morning, who should burst into our room, blooming as ever, but with a troubled countenance, but M. Alexander, who, since my abrupt departure, has been employed by my family as a spy on the movements of Madame F.'s husband, and had travelled down with him in the express. Luckily the ferocious husband is looking for us at Monaco, where he supposes us to be, so that I have time to make up my mind.

More in my next. The crisis is a grave one; but I feel my pulse, and it beats calmly.

CHARLEXIS.

The alarm of the husband's arrival turns out a false one, after all; but it serves its purpose, the Prince's Leporello, M. Alexander, having been employed by his parents to thus put an end to the situation and effect the separation of Charlexis from Madame Fénigan. And the Prince, tired of his toy, and short of money for his pleasures, allows himself not unwillingly to be decoyed back to Grosbourg, after Lydia has been smuggled away by the wiles of M. Alexander, and the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge has been run down in the night by a Portuguese torpedo-boat off the island of Minorca The third letter is written after the Prince has been gazetted, through the interest of his father, to a commission in a regiment of Dragoons, and has been hurried away from Grosbourg, before the expiration of his first leave, to avoid a challenge from Richard Fenigan, who had for a time been travelling in the vain attempt to efface the memory of his lost Lydia by a change of scene. The Duchess gets her darling son out of the way of danger, without his knowing anything about the cause of her machinations.

Lydia, meanwhile, has attempted suicide, but is discovered, and tenderly nursed by her mother-in-law, whose stern and unbending nature has undergone a sudden and marvellous conversion in the wonder-working Church of La Petite Paroisse. These chapters of the book are much taken up with disquisitions on divorce, the arguments for and against it being put into the mouths of the different characters of the story. Interesting and amusing is the description of the Abbé Ceres, the Vicaire of La Petite Paroisse, "the saintliest Christlike creature that ever trod the earth." So unversed in the ways of the world is this good priest, that, when he accompanies his portly and courtly Curé to call on Madame Fénigan, he tries to enter the drawing-room before him, being under the impression that in society, as in religious processions, those of inferior rank are expected to precede their betters. The

Curé looking rather cross at being elbowed in this unceremonious fashion, the good Abbé Ceres thinks that it is because he was not sufficiently far in advance this time, and determines that the mistake shall not occur again; so, when the senior priest rises rather suddenly to take leave, the Abbé makes a frantic rush, springing over sofas and knocking down chairs, and reaches the hall first, panting and breathless, but triumphant, leaving the company staring after him in amazement. The Curé, as they leave the premises, commences a lecture on the *convenances* of polite society, which the Vicaire begins listening to with the deepest contrition, but suddenly breaks away to relieve a necessitous beggar.

The third letter is interesting for its reflections on the spirit of the French army. Philosophers have noted how the growth of culture and civilization, the increase of wealth and luxury, coincide with the decay of the military spirit in a nation; and this is particularly the case in the France of to-day. Perhaps, the greatest want of the French army is the want of an officer class, such as is furnished in Germany by the poor and proud aristocracy. In France, in three cases out of four, the officer, save for his military rank, is no better than the soldier he lords it over, and the soldier knows it.

Third Letter.

In the interval between two battles, broken and groaning in spirit, like a soldier habituated to defeat (for our side are the Whites), I am writing to you from this old Mill, the head-quarters of our well beaten army. I thought, as my last letter from Grosbourg advised you, that I was well quit of this stupid grind of autumn manœuvres, and I was just planing a delicious flirtation with two little Jewesses, sisters, and near neighbours of ours, one just married, the other about to be so. They were quite eager to bite—the same cherry would well have baited the hook for both of them—, when suddenly a telegram from my cousin, Boutignan, recalls me to my duties on the staff.

"Higher orders!" says my old fool of a Colonel to me, winking the only eye he has, and I could get no more out of him. Boutignan is a courtier-officer, and will never commit himself; but a little bird tells me that once again the General-Duke, my father, has played me a scurvy trick. Perhaps, he found that my youth and spirits at Grosbourg troubled the quiet of his invalid chair. You know that, after a very decided improvement, he has suddenly run down again, and that by several degrees. The doctors attribute this relapse to a fall from his horse; but I was there, and I saw him reel in his saddle, smitten by a fresh stroke of paralysis. But he has another reason for being down on me.

He was in love with Madame F.... and, I am sure, nourished a vague hope of one day getting hold of her. The news of her suicide affected him deeply. Yes, my dear boy the unfortunate woman, on learning my desertion of her, lodged a bullet in her heart, or very near it. She was dying a week ago; since then I've had no news.

But fancy the astonishment of M. Alexander, charged with the purvey and negotiation of the sum with which she was to be bought off, to find at the head of her sick-bed—guess who?—the mother of the husband, the actual mother-in-law of Madame F..... How ever did she come there? The two women simply hated each other. I wonder was the husband himself in the house? All I know is that they threw the money offered by Alexander in his face, whereat the Duchess will not be greatly grieved; and my father has written, *apropos* of this attempt at suicide, a letter as lugubrious and as sentimental as a valse of 1845.

My love fatal to this innocent? I don't believe a word of it. She killed herself through despite, through boredom, through inability to face the petty worries of existence. With the burden of ten years more on my back, I feel that I should be quite capable of doing as much, and for as little or for less reason, especially if these ten years at all resemble the last few weeks I've passed in the regiment. Not that the duty fatigues me; as the Colonel's cousin and Secretary, as papa's son, and as a titular prince, I am taken off all duty, and may sprawl on my bed all day long in the room which I've hired, with the best look-out in all Melun. But Melun itself, its inhabitants, what can I do? where can I go? and with whom? the officers whom I meet at the mess table, when cousin Boutignan invites me there, talk like school-boys, as they are for the most part. Buried at ten years old in a High School, or with the Fathers in a Seminary, they are only dug out to be again buried in Saint-Cyr, or at Saumur, and from thence they pass into the barracks—only a change from one prison to another. They know nothing of life, amuse each other with anecdotes about their ushers, and laugh in chorus at the jokes of the Colonel, as they used to laugh at the jokes of the Professor, the vacant laugh of children of slaves. Barring the few keen ones, who sap and burn the midnight oil, little embryo Bonapartes without his star, *en route* for the President's household or the War Ministry, all the rest ask for, is to cut short work and drill, and get away to Paris to enjoy themselves. For conversation, their school and garrison reminiscences. Very few of them have ever seen war. They relate, after dinner, with bristling moustaches, their wonderful adventures, interspersed with "*Nom de Dieu!* it was pelting like hail! how we

did catch it! right through my cap and my cloak! and my horse, too!" Well, listening more closely, you find out that it is not a battle at all, but a heavy shower in which they happened to be caught on New Year's Day, or the 14th of July, when they escorted the President to and from the Senate or the Chamber. They have made no other campaigns, and they regret it! I regret it, too; for I often ask myself if these gentlemen, so good at escorts and on parade, are really the men of war they fancy themselves, and what figure they would cut on a field of battle. Brave, by God! Yes, every Frenchman is brave, when he thinks somebody is looking at him.

But cool, capable, under fire, of a calm and spontaneous decision? That remains to be seen. One must have faced death oneself to be at all able to answer for one's own presence of mind at any time and under all circumstances. My father told me that, when he was acting Aide-de-Camp to Marshal Bosquet in the Crimea, one day, he was ordered to carry a message to the Foot Chasseurs, and, when he was about to quit a safe and secure shelter to traverse a space swept with bullets and grape-shot, he suddenly felt his legs as heavy as lead, and only succeeded in moving them under the stimulus of the satirical looks and jests of his comrades, who observed that "he was taking a long rest." Those few minutes of suspense, he said, were the most painful in his whole life. He told me also of one of his mess-mates, a *chef d'escadron* in the Chasseurs d'Afrique, who was seized with a violent stomach-ache whenever the trumpet sounded the charge. He used to keep a flask of pure absinthe in his holsters, which he drained at a draught, and charged with its fumes in his brain, literally fit to fight only when he was dead-drunk.

Ah! these wretched nerves, that are melted and paralysed by danger in some, while in others it only strings and strengthens them. The night that my poor Bleu-Blanc-Rouge foundered, I had one Doctor Engel on board, a keen entomologist, once a companion of Emin Pasha's, whom I was going to land at Port Mahon, whither he was bound to study the *flora* of the Balearic Isles. This man, filibuster, scientific adventurer who had faced death a hundred times, under its most dreadful forms, became wild with fear when the water reached the deck. He sobbed; shrieked, that he would not die; clung to the neck of Papa Nuitt, who at last had him lashed to the deck-house, so that he went to the bottom trussed like a mummy. And, while a man of strong intellect like Engel showed this moral decomposition, my steward, squatting in a corner of the deck with his teapot and a spirit-lamp, busied himself, while the water was gurgling through the gaping seams of the planks, and the bulkheads were bursting and crashing, in making me a

hot cup of tea, before the final plunge. After all, he was the only other saved, besides myself; but to the last I saw that he kept his calm presence of mind as if it were the most natural thing in the world; while, as for me, well, I confess I had to try pretty hard.

One of the few men whom I see much of here is a Lieutenant in the Reserve, who has obtained permission to remain in the regiment after the manœuvres, to go through a supplementary course of instruction. Some people have queer tastes! This chap is an enthusiastic soldier: he adores duty, obedience, rank, discipline. He happens to be the son of one of our forest keepers, whom the poachers of Senart have nicknamed "the Indian."

I notify, for the benefit of your philosophy, this heredity of military servitude, from which this fine handsome fellow, who is foreman of a department in one of our monster shops at Paris, has not been able to enfranchise his mind. You know those hearty fellows who make you hungry only to look at them eating, by the way they cut themselves a chunk off the loaf, or stuff a great fid of steak or cheese into their mouth: well, Lieutenant Santecœur makes me feel like that. He makes me fancy the military life, by the pleasure he himself takes in it, the ardour with which he tackles the most trivial tasks. A soul not above buckles and buttons; the soul of a Sergeant Major. He weeps with sympathetic fervour at the verses of Deroulede, and goes into ecstasies over the brilliancy of a set of tunic-buttons. Were it not for the old "Indian" whose pride and joy he is, for the young wife, who is *his* pride and joy, he would leave his mercer's counter and be off to Tonquin, or Senegal, to-morrow, to try his 'prentice hand on yellow and black skins, while waiting for his chance at white ones in the big war to come some day.

But the old Indian is intoxicated with pride when he walks arm-in-arm with his son in the uniform of an officer of Dragoons; and when the young wife, a slim Parisian, as ugly and as tempting as sin, comes to breakfast with her husband at Melun, my young lieutenant warns you off with a look that would be positively dangerous near a powder magazine. One can understand how it is he hesitates to start for Dakar. I myself, since a *dejeuner* on the banks of the Marne to which I asked the young couple, and a dialogue there between my boot and a little *bottine* a trifle shy and nervous, but not too wild at all, have conceived the idea of directing my wandering steps a little oftener towards the Hermitage, where the wife of my lieutenant passes some time every year, to air her delicate bronchial tubes in the atmosphere of the pine-woods. In the meantime, I pay my court to the husband, who cherishes for my

name an hereditary respect, almost an idolatry, amusing enough to contemplate.

Except this specimen, I am not intimate with a soul in the regiment. I have observed, oh! my philosopher, that a fat tailor will make your waistcoats baggy; that a portrait painter whom Nature has favoured with a big nose, will exaggerate that feature in all his subjects It is probable that it is by a similar phenomenon of subjectivity, that I find in all my comrades, conscripts or volunteers, the same sleepy and surly physiognomy; the compound verb, "I am bored to death," conjugated in all its tenses, all its moods, present and future, active and passive. Is it obligatory service that is responsible for this? Has the youth of France, buried under the uniformity of the military tunic, the little spirit and originality that it yet retained? Certainly, they don't seem cheerful in the 50th Dragoons; nor do they ever appear to think about anything at all. Santecœur is an ass; but, at least, he takes some interest in life; indeed, he is very much alive, especially at the time of autumn manœuvres.

When he is told off to a reconnoitring party, he neither eats, nor sleeps; he puts man and beast alike on their mettle. I verily believe that, several times, by finding out too much about the movements and positions of the enemy, he has quite upset the calculations of our generals, two good, steady-going old souls, who are not very fond of getting up in the morning. There is a caricature going the rounds here, representing them as two old cripples, having a friendly game of skittles, and kicking out a big dog with "intelligence branch" engraved on his collar, whose awkward gambols have knocked down the skittles. This caricature is fathered upon a trooper of my squadron, a Parisian of Polish origin, called Borski, a tall, fair chap, with thin lips and a furtive look. A one year's volunteer, he has got off fatigue duty by drawing a portrait of the Colonel in chalks, a very good likeness; and he was commencing mine in one of the top rooms of the inn, full of sacks of grain, with small high skylights, when a comrade interrupted us, saying: "Borski, look sharp, the Colonel wants you, and there are two gentlemen from Paris with him."

"I'm lost," said the poor wretch, turning pale, and I saw him cast a despairing glance at the skylights, too narrow to permit of his escape through them. We thought that it was the caricature of the game of skittles that was the matter, but my cousin told me the same evening that it was a much more serious affair. Associated with a gang of forgers, Borski had for a long time been employed in counterfeiting bank-notes, which he did with the most extraordinary skill. Between him and the Bank was waged one of those desperate and mys-

terious duels into the details of which the public is not allowed to penetrate: continually new plates, new methods of engraving and of printing, always discovered and imitated as soon as put in practice. Borski in this way provided himself with funds to satisfy the caprices of a fair and frail lady; the whole regiment is talking of nothing else.

I seem to have always before my eyes the sudden start that he gave, and his look at the loop-holes! There was fire in that gesture, and in that look: a life-time of sensation in a single second. Ah! Vallongue, what must not existence mean to such a man, how pregnant to him must be the most trifling occurrences! A letter by the post, a knock at his door, a passer-by who jostles him in the street, the look of the street itself, of a house from whence they may be spying him, the staircase by which he may have to escape, everything for him must be of absorbing interest. Not one moment of *ennui*. All his wits sharpened, all his senses wide-awake. How good a glass of good wine must taste to him, how sweet the night of love which well may be his last! And, besides, these outlaws often seem to provoke in women a feeling of the truest and intensest devotion. The chance of spending a few years in Borski's skin, would it tempt you my boy? A criminal, aye, I know it; but an almost ideal crime, without bloodshed, without violence, neither disgusting nor revolting, delicate work, with a fine burin, of an evening, by lamplight, with a neat and pretty young woman sitting by you, to give motive and lend enchantment to the work. What a difference between such an existence and the life you and I lead, Vallongue! I await your opinion on this subject, my philosopher.

You told me, the other day, that it was Madame de Longueville who made the sad confession that, for a woman to wholly love a man, she must despise him a little. This may explain the fancy which some of them seem to have for such men as Borski, in all ranks of society. On this head, here is a story, which an illustrious musician, a member of the institute, told to our circle of men one evening, this summer, on the terrace at Grosbourg. "When I was twenty," he said, "I one night brought home with me a half wild little baggage picked up at a ball at Montmartre. In the morning she asked me, "What do you do?" I made her believe that I was a hair-dresser's apprentice of the *Rue du Bac*. Simply to look at me and my belongings, in my bachelor's quarters, furnished with an iron bedstead and a piano, ought to have been sufficient to disprove the truth of my story; but I had to do with the most credulous, as well as the most vicious of creatures, as crapulous a simpleton as ever figured at a ball of the suburban Boulevards. The gift of a few bottles of scent, pots of pomatum, and

cakes of soap, which I pretended to have filched from my employer, clinched the matter.

Put completely at her ease by the meanness of my employment, she often came to visit me, and I amused myself by stuffing her with the most extraordinary and incredible stories about my own exploits. I persuaded her that I lived by the most infamous and criminal callings—thief, bully, and worse still. The game might have turned out awkwardly for me; but in my youthful folly I cared for nothing but the amusing astonishment of this pretty Cyprian, the greedy delight with which she embraced me after my horrible confessions, which, in turn, extracted others from her hardly less abominable, though more true, as well as tender, maternal solicitude: "Take care, my dear boy, dôn't let them cop you." Her love was born of pity; she would console me, soothe my remorse, for I must feel remorse, I was so young. Then the poor girl would take my head in her two hands, dry my pretended tears with her kisses, wipe them away from my eyes with her dishevelled tresses; or, speaking of sentiment and of the ideal, would try to lift me out of the materialistic mud in which, according to my own account, I wallowed in my nocturnal escapades. "Say, my pet, there are times when you feel you *have* a soul, don't you?" And she would preach her idealistic doctrine to me at the most extraordinary times and seasons.

Well, this curious *liaison* of our academician with this *geuse* lasted some three or four months; and this man of the world, who had been the object of some of those passionate attachments that are not unfrequently formed in the world of musicians, declared that he had never felt himself so truly beloved, had never so freely penetrated the depths of tenderness in a woman's heart. The little wretch confided to him all the secrets of her sordid life, and of her infamous traffic, and he, on his part, continued to play his imaginative *rôle* of an abandoned criminal, sometimes finding it difficult to evade her offers of her hardly-earned and ill-gotten gains to prevent his risking "*un trop sale coup.*" Suddenly she disappeared from his ken; left his lodgings at Montmartre without address; never replied to his letters. Had she discovered that he had been fooling her, or was she afraid of being compromised by his society, perhaps arrested with him? Nobody knows, and it dosen't much matter. He never met her again. But Borski interests me; I think with envy of his life, as compared with mine, so stale, flat, and unprofitable. To live, oh! to live!

The other day, in the compartment of a railway train, with the windows shut, I watched an insect, a kind of gnat, which wanted to find its way out, and was continually knocking itself against the ceiling in its frantic efforts to escape; and

it went on desperately banging itself against the unyielding obstacle for two hours or more, till we arrived at Melun. And I admired this energetic ephemera, who, having such a short time to live, employed it in struggling against his environment, cabined, cribbed, and confined as he was in a first class railway carriage. And how can we escape from our environment, Vallongue? How free ourselves from our *bourgeois* train? By a crime, like Borski, or by a rash act like Madame F at Quiberon? Sure enough, I shall escape it some day, but how, and in what fashion? Ah! if dreams were true! I will tell you a queer one I had the other night. I dreamt that some of the engineers, in digging a shelter-trench in a field of beetroot, in front of the mill here, came upon a big buried book, its red cover all rotted away, its leaves swarming with ants and maggots; and that two of the soldiers brought the huge volume, and deposited it on the table, where the officers of the staff were just finishing their breakfast. It was called the World's Ledger, and contained, in tiny Elzevir characters, a minute description of every soul living on this Globe, with their name, surname, and record of all the important events of their life.

"Excuse me, gentlemen; my turn first," said the Colonel waiving us away with his lighted cigar, while he turned over the leaves; and about twenty of us crowded impatiently round him. Calmly he turned the pages, winking at us the while with his one eye; but, instead of turning to his own name, he proceeded to hunt up all of ours in succession, as if afraid to reveal his own destiny. All followed in turn, and each one betrayed the same weakness, avoiding the page with his own history. My turn coming the very last, I said to them impatiently; "Come, gentlemen, look up Olmutz: at what age and by what death shall I die?"

How my heart beat while they were turning the leaves! At last the Colonel began to read in a commanding voice:—"Charles-Alexis Dauvergne, Prince d' Olmutz;" here he stopped short, and all present grew pale, and looked fixedly at me: then they all filed out of the room one by one, leaving me alone with the great book upon the table. With feverish curiosity I turned to my name in it and began to read; but the letters swam before my eyes, became illegible, undecipherable: it was maddening: my fate was all written out before me, but not a line of it could be read.

The trumpet is sounding Boot and Saddle, Vallongue; the enemy must be upon us; we did not look for him till to-morrow. Lieutenant Santecœur must have spotted him, as usual. Till next time, my philosopher.

CHARLEXIS.

It may be noticed in the story related in the above letter, as told by an eminent musician, a member of the Institute, that the narrator describes himself as telling a tissue of falsehoods simply as an agreeable *passe-temps*: and on another occasion Richard Fénigan, who is intended by the author for the type of an honourable and upright man, is represented as telling needless and causeless lies upon very slight provocation. There is, no doubt, a difference in this respect in the moral standard of the Latin and the Teutonic races, to whatever cause it may be ascribed; and M. Daudet appears to put falsehoods into the mouths of his heroes without any idea that he is thereby making them appear odious and contemptible.

The lax morality of Charlexis Dauvergne even may, therefore, not have quite the same dark complexion on the southern as on the northern side of the English Channel.

The Fourth Letter shows the Prince again at Grosbourg, where he enjoys lawn-tennis and the run of the best society. His base requital of the hospitality of his hosts and neighbours, his infamous betrayal of more than one woman, are all condoned by his family and by society; looked upon as Englishmen might look upon the nocturnal pranks of Mr. Bob Sawyer and Mr. Benjamin Allen, as the mere ebullition of youthful gaiety and high spirits. While English boys are ambitious of excelling in athletic games; while sword-duelling and beer-drinking beguile the German student, the French hobbledehoy, dreams of nothing but the conquest of women's hearts and the possession of their persons. The French schoolboy or collegian has much more supervision, and much less liberty than his English compeers; he is under the spying eye of a master, or usher, every hour of the day and night; yet, in spite of this, or, perhaps, because of it, his first thought, when he finds his freedom, is to prove himself a man by turning himself into a beast. Not a novel, not a *feuilleton* is written or published in the French language, but has illicit love as its motive or its theme. And to the French mind this state of things is the natural order of creation. To the reproach of immorality launched against them by the Englishman, they reply only by the taunt of hypocrisy.

FOURTH LETTER.

I've found out now why my family banished me for so long from Grosbourg. The husband of Madame F. . . . who took things so easily when I ran away with his wife, simply went wild with rage when I threw her over. M. Poum-poum's threats terrified my good mother. She imagined me drowned, hung, stabbed, or scalped, at least, and could only be pacified

by knowing me safe in the keeping of my cousin, de Boutignan, and the invincible Fiftieth Dragoons. I wonder what was up with our neighbours at Uzelles while I was at the autumn manœuvres. They tell me that Madame has taken up her quarters there again ; that Poum-poum has gone off to Algeria ; but nobody can afford me the clue to this double mystery. But the principal thing is, that the Colonel has restored me safe and sound to the bosom of my family, with an indefinite extension of leave.

Not very lively at home here. The Duchess always taken up with the estate administration affairs ; the General more and more helpless, reminding me of those mythological personages you read about in Virgil and Ovid, pursued by the wrath of the gods and changed into a rock, or a tree. Day by day, slowly and painfully the limbs petrify, the skin grows rugged, hardens into bark. Soon there will be nothing left living but his head, then his eyes, dark and melancholy, like the light of the setting sun on the windows of an old turret. His mind remains clear ; his voice does not fail ; but the only use he makes of it is to lament and upbraid. All his words are sharp, bitter, cutting and wounding like lancet and scalpel ; however, if he says true, his faculties, too, are failing him ; the violoncello of Master John no longer tickles his ears so gratefully as of old. True, Master John has become more wheezy than ever ; when he talks to you, you feel as if you were getting deaf ; he sounds like some one in the next room. Perhaps the violoncello is going broken-winded, like its master.

Yesterday afternoon we were all three together on the terrace above the river. "Roll me a cigarette," says the General to me with his rasping voice. And, while I was rolling it, no doubt, I did look at his big, flaccid hands, lying twisted and distorted upon his knees like withered leaves. He noticed my look, and his tone became more ill-tempered than before.

"What the devil is the matter with my hands? I dare say they're not so white as Madame F. 's." And, the name once out, he lost all control over himself, reproached me with my base conduct to the woman, accused me of making up to her again, and, with jealousy written in every line of his face, shouted out : "I forbid you, do you hear?" as loudly as if he were giving the word of command to march past before the President's tribunal at Long Champ. Whereupon I drew myself up :

"You forbid me? And by what right?"

"By my right as your father : by my right as head of the family."

Your last letter, my dear Vallongue, just happened to treat of the old principle of authority, and of its general decay. I bethought myself of some of John's most striking and brilliant sentences, and served them up to the General as if they were out of my own head.

When I told him that the institution of the family was treading in the footsteps of the State; that, after having been an absolute Monarchy, it had come to be a limited or constitutional Monarchy, and had further progressed to the state of a Democracy—no, you cannot imagine the astonishment and dismay depicted on the face of my illustrious father, and feebly reflected on that of Master John.

The fact is, that the General still thinks of our pretty neighbour, and is ready to burst with rage upon his pedestal, whenever he sees me cross the bridges, thinking that I'm mowching round the Uzelles. Upon my honour, from the day I finally broke off with Madame F. I've never met her again till this morning, when we came on each other in a jeweller's shop at Corbeil by the merest chance. She looked thinner to me, and paler (but that might have been from the shock of the unexpected meeting), and had all her old indolent grace. Not a word, hardly a look, passed between us. That was all, and that will be all, I assure you, for, when they accuse me of going to the Uzelles, it is really because my *rendezvous* with my little Santecœur happens to lie in that part of the forest which adjoins the Fénigans' Park. I told you how the dear little thing is watched, and what a mortal terror she is in of "the Indian," thanks to whom our little affair is no further advanced just yet. No doubt, it is owing to this delay that my fancy is turning into a real passion, and that no other woman, lady or *bourgeoise*, has ever attracted me like this delicious little piece.

Pretty, is she? Not much. A big mouth, a little turned-up nose, the style of a milliner's apprentice. In the jeweller's shop this morning, where we were together choosing a gold chain, Madame F. . . . gave me a look of scorn, as much as to say, "This is what you're come down to; I compliment you on your taste." I unfortunately was unable to reply, except by a look in return, and I could not make that—however expressive—as explanatory as I could have wished.

You see, Wilkie, although I'm still young, I have almost finished my investigation of the eternal feminine, at least as far as regards the French woman. What is the French type of woman? Is it the sentimental rake depicted in the novels of the eighteenth century? Has she ever raged and panted like the romantic Malvinas of the school of young France? Shall we recognise her in the pensive ruminant of the classical

poets ? in the unsophisticated nymphs of Naturalism ? in the hysterical invalid of the Decadence ? She may be all these ; at all events, she has been made to figure as all these, a puppet created by the pen of the romancer, a lay-figure for the exhibition of the most eccentric moral fashions ; but I believe the French woman at bottom to be a false personator of passion, an unenthusiastic rake ; to be, in fact, simply and solely, and always, the mother, the maternal one. For the past three years and more that I have had to do with women, this is the type I have oftenest encountered. You will say that was only to be expected at my age. True, but I have been acquainted with quite young girls and young women, our neighbours of Merogis, for instance, and I feel that all their ways are only put on, only a passing fashion, all except the tender and protective instinct of maternity. The Santecœur is another type altogether, a fetching little piece, all fire and passion ; not the aristocratic prettiness of the Countess, nor the fair type of Jewish beauty like Rebecca Dollinger, but with some hidden charm or attraction of the nature of which I am still ignorant. I will tell you what it is to-morrow, my dear boy, and will leave this letter open to that end, unless I am much mistaken.

I have persuaded the Ranger to organise a grand ambush for the poachers, whose audacity has of late become intolerable. So the Indian will be on duty to-night at the pheasant preserves with all the keepers of the Great and the Little Senart, and wont be back at the Hermitage before 6 A.M.

I enclose the sketch of my precious phiz, done in chalk by trooper Borski, forger in the 50th Dragoons. Though it is not finished, you can see it would have been a good likeness ; only, by that law of subjectivity of which we were speaking one day, which compels my fat tailor to make the waistcoats of his clients baggy, in spite of all that I can say to him, the vehement Borski has put the keen expression of his own eyes into mine, and so has quite changed the expression of my face. I saw the poor devil again in the barrack square, on the day he was drummed out of the regiment, after he had been condemned to penal servitude. The theatrical, and, at the same time, repulsive ceremony of his degradation, in rain and gloom, with the dark background of the surronnding walls, and the ranks of dripping men and horses, did not seem to daunt him in the least. When he passed close to me, with his tunic turned inside out, and his head erect, I was struck by the exaltation of his look, as if his thoughts were far away. One could see that his soul was a thousand leagues away from the chain and the prison, smiling tenderly at her for whose sake he had sinned and suffered. It is that lofty look that he has lent my likeness, ill though it becomes me.

Oh! no, there is no fire in the eyes of our generation, is there, Vallongue? We are no more fired by love to-day than we are by patriotism. Whose fault is it? You, my philosopher, thinker, searcher, digger in the mines of knowledge, devourer of books, you know that it is in the mists of German philosophy that you have dimmed your sunshine and your heat; you know that it is the books that have made you old and wise before your time. But we others, we dunces, who have not read, who do not study, we ought to have kept alive the fire of simple faith, the beliefs in the dear old creeds that served and warmed so many generations before us; but we have not! Perhaps it is not necessary to unclasp the big books which have disenchanted you, to know their contents: the disintegrating ideas of which they contain the germs, are dispersed abroad, and we breathe them in the breath of our life; we absorb them at every pore. Never once have you cited for my behoof one of those bitter truths culled by your philosophers, without my saying to myself: "But I knew that before." It is one of those inexplicable phenomena, like the transmission of the news of some great event in one day from one end of a great desert to the other, without anybody being able to explain the process of its transmission. That is why we all of this latest generation, the generation of the war, whether unlearned like me or learned like you, are all infected with impotence and smitten by despair; with the souls of anarchists, but without the courage of their deeds, vanquished before the battle has begun.

CHARLEXIS.

The allusion to the mysterious transmission of news in the Saharan desert, contained in the closing passage of the above letter, may be matched by Indian experience. The extraordinary rapidity with which important news travelled through the bazaars of India in the days before the establishment of the electric telegraph has often been commented on, and an explanation of it sought in various hypotheses.

The Prince of Olmütz never wrote another letter. An anonymous communication apprised "the Indian" of the infidelity of his daughter-in-law; and, on the fatal night, after appearing at the rendezvoux at Senart, the old keeper left his post and returned homewards. Day was breaking as he approached the cottage; but in the uncertain light he saw a man leap from the window of young Madame Santecoeur's room and hurry towards the wood. He levelled and fired, and the fugitive fell in his tracks, shot through the head. The old man went into the cottage and found his daughter-in-law trembling in bed, her head buried under the clothes. "Get

up," said he roughly to her, "and fetch the lantern. I have killed your lover." The lantern was brought, and the horrified old man only then learned that he had slain his master's son. Terrified at what he had done, his first thought was to conceal the crime; and, to prevent the identity of his victim being discovered, he thrust the head and shoulders of the corpse into an ant's nest. Under cover of the next night he conveyed the ghastly remnant to a distant part of the forest, not far from the house of the Fénigans.

Richard had again been away from home; for, though reconciled to the repentant Lydia, he was still a prey to the torments of jealousy. "*Jaloux n'a paix ni soir ni matinée.*" The very morning of his return, he comes on the terror-stricken group who, to their consternation, have just discovered, at the foot of his park-wall, the nameless horror, recognised only by its clothes as the corpse of Charlexis Danvergne, Prince of Olmütz. Richard is, of course, accused of the murder, and arrested; but the old keeper comes forward to confess the crime, lest an innocent man should suffer for his deed. He escapes himself scot-free, as in France, in such cases, the provocation is held sufficient to justify the crime. The wretched Duchess, from whom they try to keep the truth, forces her way to her darling son's body, and is driven stark staring mad by the horror of the spectacle. The epitaph of Charles Alexis Dauvergne, Prince of Olmütz, may be summed up in the verdict pronounced on the Austrian Baron Trenck by the historian of his exploits, Thomas Carlyle: "Soul more worthy of damnation have I seldom known." His literary remains may be of value as an example of the effects of the eclipse of Faith, and of the results of the triumph of modern Philosophy.

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. III.—RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN CIVILIAN.

By HENRY GEORGE KEENE, C I. E., M. A., OXON.

CHAPTER VII.

1863—1868.

(*Continued from No. 203, January, 1896.*)

IF I was conscious of a change in myself on returning to India it was most assuredly a changed India to which I returned. Old customs and institutions of the Company's rule were still in operation in the first years of the Crown ; but by the end of the year 1862 they had given way to the more scientific methods launched by an organised Legislature. Universities in the Presidency towns began to produce educated graduates ; and an Act of Parliament held out to duly qualified natives a prospect of admission to some of the higher posts of the administration. The Civil Servants who came from Europe were no longer the nominees of the "Directors," but men of mark who had often taken good degrees at Oxford or Cambridge, Dublin, or the Scottish Universities. Railway communication was extending rapidly ; trade had almost doubled ; improved Courts of Justice had already increased the despatch and certainty of trials and suits. A certain ground-swell remained in public feeling, to tell of the stormy passions of the great revolt ; but peace and plenty had returned. It was in conditions of such hopeful kind that I resumed my duties. Prevented by causes already mentioned from returning to my old district, I took charge for a time of Mainpuri, but was deputed to Allahabad, before the end of the year, to officiate as Judge. When the officer who held the substantive post came back, I was offered the appointment of Magistrate-Collector at Allahabad ; and that appointment had the attraction of causing no move, and of keeping one in a large European society, where one's work would always be under the immediate notice of the highest authorities. For Allahabad was by this time the seat of the Local Government ; and here were the Board of Revenue, the High Court, and other departmental centres. But an old College friend, who had just brought a bride from Europe, and shrank from burying her in a remote station, pointed out that, if I would go to "Bulandshahr in his stead, he and his wife could remain at Allahabad." Being a single man and in poor spirits, I did not care for my own interest and yielded to these arguments : R. and his wife stayed at head-quarters, where his energy

and ability afterwards brought him high promotion. If I had any hand in causing his prosperity, I cannot but be glad.

The district of Bulandshahr was named from the chief town, a small place, also called Baran, of which the older portion occupied an artificial eminence on the bank of a small stream. Allusions in Indian story, confirmed by the occasional discovery of sculptured fragments of antiquity, have shown that there was a Hindu power of some sort here before the Muslim conquest; and in that fact is found the explanation of the two names; Baran, being a Hindi word, while Bulandshahr is a Persian compound, answering to "Hauteville," or "Hochstadt," in Europe. It was in 1863 a depressing agglomeration of mud-pies, with a masonry Tahsili, or Sub-Collector's Office, on the top of the hill, and a few public offices and European bungalows on the plain, stretching westward, towards the Grand Trunk Road. Since then the energy of a Collector who was at once a scholar and an artist, has transformed Bulandshahr into a handsome town, having a market-place, a town hall, and many rows of shops and dwellings, all of good design, and adorned with façades of carved stone-work.*

In my time all was very backward and quiet; the settlement was over and the revenue came in punctually, while the country was comparatively free from crime. There was no European society; and among native families of distinction I recollect only two, both of Muslims. One was that of the Nawab of Jahangirabad, the other of the chief of the Lal Khani House, whose Fort of Kamona resisted the whole force of the Meerut division in 1807, when it was finally taken by assault, and with a great slaughter. The Lal Khani House is of Hindu ancestry, long since converted to the Koran; and is well-known in India for having produced one of the few distinguished native statesmen of modern times, Sir Faiz Ali Khān, K. C. S. I., once Prime Minister of Jaipore. At one of their family seats I had the pleasure of attending, by invitation, a wedding in which the due solemnities of Islam were blended with some Hindu customs derived from ancient tradition.

Being left with a good deal of time on my hands, I sought employment for my spare time, and found it in the library of my friend, Colonel Hamilton, Commissioner of Delhi, which was one of my nearest points. The Colonel had a collection of Oriental MSS., and I used them in improving my knowledge of history. The immediate past attracted most attention; and

* Frederick Salmon Growse—whose remarkable name lent itself to easy flippancy—was one of the earlier competition-wallahs, and had graduated at Oxford. He was a Hindi scholar, and the author of a Translation of the *Ramāyana* of Tulsi Das. He was made Companion of the Indian Empire and died at Haslemere in 1893.

the result of the two years, chiefly spent at Bulandshahr, was a little book on the Fall of the Empire to which the British succeeded. Revised and expanded, this work has reached a third edition in thirty years; not a very startling success, yet a fair record as Indian subjects go.* With one or two conspicuous examples of skilful treatment, no one has been able to kindle in the minds of English readers any great warmth regarding the mighty dependency which is one of England's greatest claims to distinction among the nations.

At the end of 1863 I heard of the painless extinction of my father, who died of paralysis at Tunbridge Wells, aged 82.

The days of a District Officer passed probably much more mechanically thirty years ago than they do in these days of scientific administration. Rising early, he rode round the town, watching drainage and road-making, or inspecting a disputed site, or the scene of some crime then under trial. Returning to his bungalow he found some of the *Amla* ready with reports, which he heard and dealt with in the verandah, till the approaching heat drove him in-doors. At ten he went to Court and looked after the work of his assistants, or heard cases, till the clock struck four. A visit to the racquet-court and a drive along the Trunk Road ended the active hours of the day. All this, though I have it vividly before my mind's eye, is evidently inadequate material for detailed narrative. To rouse the sympathetic attention of others, one must either generalise one's own egotism, or else take up the line of personal gossip about more distinguished and more interesting people. I can only hope for indulgence from those who can find pleasure in comparing things present with things past, and who will listen to any tale of human life that is told honestly and without malice. There can, therefore, be no manner of doubt but that the most indulgent reader whose eyes may chance to fall on these pages will be satisfied to find so slight a memorial of the period to which the present lines refer. It was, nevertheless, a period of some importance to myself, as that which led to the formation of a scheme of life which subsequently became fixed. I was now thirty-seven—the age at which Byron died—and, without comparing oneself to any great man, one may say that the poet usually does die about then. I mean him of whom Sainte Beuve wrote, when shedding the slough of Joseph Delorme :—

Le poete mort jeune á qui l'homme survit.

Without being conscious of any exact moment at which a new departure was intentionally taken, I am sure that it was in these lonely months at Bulandshahr that youth's visions finally faded and one awoke to one's real day's work. Not that my

* *Fall of the Mughal Empire.* W. H. Allen & Co. London. 1887.

life up to this had been all a dream. I had tried to reconcile artistic tastes with the discharge of duty. In the already quoted words of my old friend, John Sherer :—

> "Ears where the music of the brook flowed in
> Are listening, daily, to the tales of sin, etc."

But it had been all the result of chance, rather than a settled plan. Now, however, a definite scheme arose. It has been well said, by the wise and learned Renan, that "one buys dearly the ideal that one loves, however excellent it be." A certain fastidiousness of taste began now to combine with a sense of hostility in high places to convince one that the prizes of public life were out of reach, and to foster an ambition which, though of a purer, was of a more attainable kind. Without asserting that this ideal was "excellent," I may, perhaps, fairly claim that, if the grapes of official distinction are sour, the life of a thinker may be sweet. It seemed that my path in public life was being blocked by obstacles beyond my control, and that my professional career was likely to be checked in every possible direction. So long, indeed, as the choice of instruments lay in the hands of men like Thomason or Colvin, one had felt sure of fair treatment. Mr. Edmonstone had at first appeared no less friendly ; but he had learned to lean on the Deductive one ; and his alienation had evidently come to a climax when I left the Muzafarnagar settlement, although under medical certificate. I did not belong by birth to the India House connection ; in the country itself I adhered to no clan or clique ; I was known to be independent, and more than suspected of literary practices ; it would be as much as could be expected if I were left to plod on unmolested. My intercourse with Colonel Hamilton and with several Muhamadans of rank and learning was now turning my attention strongly towards what I have since made, in a mild way, a sort of speciality.

Nor was I altogether sequestered in my dull district. The absence of men on leave causes what are more or less welcome temporary movements in such a service as ours ; and one occasion of the kind when I went to Aligurh to officiate as Judge—is memorable to me as causing me to become acquainted with one of the best and most distinguished of modern Asiatics. This was my "Subordinate Judge," since then widely known by many good deeds and by the biography published by Colonel Graham. Sayad Ahmad—now Sir S. Ahmad, K.C.S.I.,—was then known only as an able native officer ; but one could hardly avoid observing that, in all he said and did, he showed the earnestness of a superior nature. Sooner or later the official hierarchy made the like discovery ; and he has, in subsequent times, had much promotion and honour, becoming a most useful mediator between the foreign rulers of Hindustan

and the Muslim section of the population. His character being sincere and fearless, he was able to maintain an independent position by the exercise of those qualities, joined to an excellent judgment. During the Mutiny he did his duty well, to the spoiling of his goods—nine years later he was still ready to speak home-truths alike to ruled and rulers. Addressing a meeting of natives, about this time, he said that, under the Mughal Empire, some of his hearers' ancestors had held high office; and, in so saying, may have glanced at a standing grievance of the modern native of India. But he sturdily reminded his hearers that such posts had only been rare prizes in a costly and dangerous lottery. If they would but reflect, if they would bring to the consideration of those days, the simple principles of justice and morality, they would see that the manifold evils of the period were dearly purchased by the benefits wrought upon the fortunes of the few. [The sentence might gain by being reversed, but the meaning is not obscure], he went on as follows:—

> "The natives have, at present, little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their own country; and, should any measure of the Government dissatisfy them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied, while discontent is rankling in their hearts. I hope you will not be angry with me for speaking the truth; you know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of the Government in your own homes and among your own families, and then, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as highly delighted with the justice and wisdom of those very measures. Far better would it be for India would her people but speak out openly and honestly, making known their genuine sentiments as to the doings of the Government."

In such-like homely phrase the Reformer was wont to deliver sound and honest counsels, not hiding from either side in a mighty controversy his convictions as to the faults of each, yet never deviating into discourtesy or inflammatory language. The doings of the Government might not be always either wise or just; but how were rulers—especially alien rulers—to know the true nature and bearing of their measures, unless properly informed by those for whom they were intended? Since I had the fortune to be the official superior of my distinguished friend, some professed delegates of the Indian people have come forward, in what is known as "the Congress movement," stating grievances in language of sufficient plainness and asking for reform. But the earlier Reformer has not approved of the movement, or recognised the men of the Congress as representing his views; notwithstanding which dissidence, no true friend of India can doubt his sincerity and good faith, which are writ large in his words and works.*

* I shall have to return to this question, and to say a word about the College at Aligarh, when I come to its foundation in later years. The *Life of S. Ahmad* referred to above was published by Blackwood of Edinburgh, about ten years ago. An earlier notice will be found in Mr. Escott's *Pillars of the Empire* (London, 1878).

In the autumn of 1865 I passed some weeks, pleasantly enough, at Mussoorie, where I renewed my friendship with several families, amongst others that of Colonel Abbott, who had for some time, during the winter of 1857-58, commanded the station of Dehra. The genuine kindness of the Abbotts was of great value to me, and it led the way to a more permanent and closer connection. After a pleasant time I returned to my public and private work with spirit refreshed; and at Christmas I went to visit them at their new station of Meerut.

In 1866 a new Lieutenant-Governor arose in the person of the Hon'ble E. Drummond, since raised to the Knight Commandership of the Star of India. He was brother to the late Viscount Strathallan, had been thirty-five years in the service, and had filled high and important situations in the Department of Finance. I found him invariably wise, courteous, and honourable; and I am glad to hope and believe that he is still prospering. I forebore to trouble his Honour with claims to special consideration, and accepted the promotion which he offered, namely, to the substantive Judgeship of Farukhabad. The Civil station of Fatehgarh was on the right bank of the Ganges, 83 miles north-west of Cawnpore, and about three east from Farukhabad city. There was an old Fort, in which was a gun-carriage factory, under European superintendence. There was also a wing of a British regiment of Foot, the usual Civil staff, and a certain mixed society of planters; so that we were a numerous body at the club and racquet court, and had plenty of amusement for leisure hours.

Having to mount the Bench without having acquired forensic preparation at the bar appears a startling departure from English usage, but is, in fact, a somewhat usual feature in the bureaucratic systems of continental Europe. Nor does the rule—as applied in India—involve all the inexperience that might be supposed; for a member of the Indian Civil Service has been judicially employed ever since he got out of leading-strings, and was entrusted with charge of a sub-division, say, for twelve years or more. For my own part I had not only been accustomed to dispose of criminal charges; during the four years for which I was Superintendent of the Doon, I had exercised almost unlimited powers in a Civil Court. That I was entirely successful, or that I ever became so, is more than I can assert. I think most Judges who try cases alone (that is to say, without jury or colleague), find that a great part of their decisions come to grief in appeal. Nor does this necessarily prove them to be bad Judges; it is not in human nature for the Court above not to feel disposed to vindicate its importance by criticising the Court below and disturbing its awards. Something, too, must have to be ascribed to one's

own shortcomings. It was said of a very great man, in regard to his public conduct, that "he did not take to heart external matters sufficiently to rise to excellence in them; he only took to heart the affairs of man in general."* The subject of that shrewd remark was Mayor of Bordeaux, besides, being a man of genius and one of the greatest essay-writers A yet more distinguished official in the same neighbourhood, but in a later century, recorded an even stronger comment. The author of *L'Esprit des Lois* was at one time a sort of Chief Justice; and this is what he has to say of his own doings on the bench :—

> "What has always given me a rather poor opinion of myself is, that there are so few walks in public life for which I could ever have been fit. As to my work as a Judge, I have an upright nature, and I could always understand my causes; but as to procedure, I could make nothing of it. And yet I tried my best; but what most annoyed me was, that I perceived in many dull fellows the very talent which, I may say, quite escaped myself."

It would be mock modesty to affect a sense of complete judicial incompetence. I sate on the Bench for fifteen years, during all which there was no scandal and little friction. Yet one need not, surely, be ashamed if one did not surpass Montaigne and Montesquieu.

The laws of India are a little complicated at first appearance. By a mixture of positive engagement and tacit understanding, each class of the vast and varied population is entitled to claim the application of its own peculiar system. But it rarely happens that the parties to suits are of different classes; and the great divisions of the community are so few and simple that there is no difficulty in deciding which system governs the case; the conflict of law is reduced to a minimum. There was, perhaps, a slight tendency among lawyers from England to badger us with principles and precedents imported from that country; and one learned Judge of the Calcutta High Court went so far as to lay down that India was a conquered country, and a sort of forensic vacuum into which English law rushed as by a force of nature. But these were, on the whole, passing clouds; and the "untrained Judges" pursued their unscientific way, with such aid as they could command from barristers and native pleaders, administering the *Shastra* here, the *Koran* there, and doing their best to soothe the susceptibilities of the "European British subject." The two first-named Codes are of the nature of *Leviticus*; tribal ordinances, so to speak, understood by their respective followers to issue from the Celestial Chancery for the special behoof of the faithful. For the third class of litigant the law was held to be founded on the Common Law of England, modified by occasional Acts of the local Legislatures. There was no dis-

* Sainte Beuve on Montaigone, *Causeries du Lundi*.

tinction between Equity and Law; the same Court could grant injunctions, or award damages; there was no jury and no pecuniary limit of jurisdiction.

More explanation of such matters would only lead to an amount of technicality which would weary the reader. Enough has, perhaps, been said to show that the judicial duties of a "District and Session Judge" were—as they must still be—of a serious and important character. As Session Judge he had an appellate jurisdiction over the magistracy, while his "original" action consisted of the trial of Calendars submitted to him every month, accompanied by records of preliminary proceedings. He had no power to quash committals, but must try every case sent up to him. Except in special places, or in the trial of foreign Europeans, he had no jury, but was assisted by a small number of respectable men—usually Hindus or Muslims who were called "Assessors." The finding of these men was not a "verdict," only an opinion by which the Judge was not bound. He took English notes, in his most legible handwriting, adding a short judgment, in which, when he did not agree with his Assessors, he was expected to enter the reasons of his disagreement. By the help of this machinery much of the popular life is laid bare which would not otherwise be known to the British officials; for both prosecution and defence are apt to be severely scrutinised by the native pleaders engaged on either side; and if to this be added an intelligent co-operation by the Assessors, such as is possible with judicious and tactful handling, a good deal of valuable information is often elicited.* On the powers of the Session's Courts there is—

* The following recollection of a trial in the Sessions Court at Muttra, somewhere about 1878, will illustrate the difficulty of dealing with a social evil of which the diagnosis has not been clearly established. I should premise that, the "curtailment of marriage expenses" having proved a broken reed, the Government had hit upon a new scheme for female infanticide. Officers were sent round the villages to count the babies. In any case where there was a marked disparity between the sexes, special police measures were ordered, and the name of the village in which this occurred was inserted on a "black list." Whenever a female infant died in a village on this list—"proclaimed villages" they were called—, it was presumed that it had been murdered, and the burden of proving natural death was thrown upon the parents. The woman whose child's death was the subject of inquiry in the case to which I here refer, made a stout defence. She called witnesses, who proved that she had fever after the birth, that the local medicine man was called in, that, her supply of milk failing, efforts were made to keep the infant alive with the milk of cows and goats, and, lastly, that many female children had grown to maturity in her family—such as sisters, nieces, etc. I sent for the Civil Surgeon and put him in the witness-box, where these depositions were read to him. "Now, Doctor," said I, "is there anything in the statements of these witnesses that is incompatible with the symptoms stated in your report of the *post mortem* examination by you which I see upon the committing officer's file?" He

unless in the case of European Britons—no assigned limit: generally speaking, they deal with all charges beyond the magisterial jurisdiction, excepting charges of murder in which sentence of death is deemed advisable; in which case not only is there the usual appeal to the High Court, but the record must, in any event, be laid before that tribunal, and the man, even should he not have appealed, will not be hanged unless the Judges there have confirmed the sentence.

The "District Judge" means the same official sitting on the Civil side of his Court. Here, again, there is no theoretical limit of jurisdiction; all causes, of whatever value, being liable to be brought on the Judge's file if they have not been disposed of by an inferior Court. But, in practice, the Judge leaves most of the trials, in "first instance," to subordinate Courts, of which there are ten or a dozen, whose judgments are liable to be brought before him in appeal. The importance of this difference is, that when he decides a case in this manner, there is no appeal to the High Court on findings of fact; whereas, if he disposes of a case in original, or first instance, there is the same appeal from him to the Court above as to him from the Courts below.

The general neglect of juries arose from the great want of persons considered suitable to serve. In a country whose governing organs and classes were more like cut blooms than plants rooted in the soil, no confidence was felt in the integrity of the ordinary citizen, or in his earnestness for the ends of justice. One of the curious consequences was that, when a European British subject was committed, there was no jury at all, unless the Judge thought the case one that ought to be tried by the

answered that there was not. "Then,' I pursued, "the symptoms which you there attribute to insufficient quantity of food might have equally been caused by insufficient assimilation?" He said that it was so. I explained this evidence to the Assessors, and asked if they had any questions to put. They answered, No; that they had no reason to suspect the woman of having intended to take her child's life from the first. "Your Honour should know," they added, "that her family belong to an endogamous class." [They used a more roundabout expression.] "These people have no motive for killing their girls, as they can marry them all in their own tribe." I then turned to the Doctor and asked if he could account for the case having been committed for trial? He said, in virtue of the rules; because it occurred in a proclaimed village. It turned out, on inquiry, that the accused did not belong to the predominant tribe, or sept, for whose imputed malpractices the village had been put upon the list, but was a member of some humble class, some of whom had gone, from elsewhere, to settle there.

I consequently, with the concurrence of the Assessors, passed sentence of acquittal on the woman, who left the Court, broken in health and spirit, and all in virtue of a piece of official pedantry. I felt then—as I do still—that it is hard for foreigners to control the domestic life of a people that has long lived a life of its own.

High Court, which could, however, send for that or any other case if it thought proper. All this has been altogether altered by the compromise arising out of the agitation against Lord Ripon's attempt at judicial reform in 1883.

In all judicial work in India there is a feeling of distrust in parole evidence, especially strong when one's experience is considerable, but not quite complete. One has learned in one's youth to look on testimony as the material of judgment, because, when a witness is in Court, and surrounded by the terrors and solemnities of the situation, it is more likely that he will tell truth than not. That is assuredly not the case in British India; and a peasant of simple habits who would not think of lying in his native village, will, before the foreign magistrate, become an accomplished artist in perjury. Nor is this to be wondered at. Descended from a population long inured to oppression and anarchy, the Indian races had learned to look on authority as an incarnation of arbitrary malevolence, to be baffled in every way possible; and it could hardly be expected that three generations of well-meant, but not always successful effort, could have restored confidence. To such a vast initial difficulty is, of course, to be added the great propensity for forging or falsifying documents which must exist where the mysteries of penmanship are confined to a very small minority. One of the most bewildering results of such a state of things is, that a false charge, or a false claim, is apt to be met by an equally false defence; and it is the discovery of this that is at the bottom of whatever legitimate doubt may be still left on impartial minds by the case of the famous Nuncomar. Few, if any, who are intellectually and morally capable of judging, now believe that this man was hanged by Sir Elijah Impey to oblige Warren Hastings; but one of the most competent inquirers, the late Sir J. F. Stephens, shows that the minds of the Judges and jurors in that trial were influenced, strongly, if not unduly, by the evident falsehood of the prisoner's case. No British Indian Court would now be consciously swayed by such considerations, so generally notorious has become this sad and perplexing propensity. Hence it happens that Indian Judges are tempted to despair of success, till they learn that cases have to be very greatly ruled by the intellectual qualities of the presiding officer; if he is intelligent and experienced, he will often be able to pick out the grains of possible, probable, and certain truth from the mass of fiction presented for his consideration. His main difficulty will then be confined to recording his reasons in a convincing judgment. Such an officer, when six apparently honest men swear before him that black is white, may find six equally credible witnesses asseverate with like

solemnity that, on the contrary, white is black; and from the discordant materials he may construct a sound scheme of grey. But he has to encounter his crowning difficulty when he has to establish this conclusion in a written judgment that will hold water on appeal. This dry exposition may be made better by an example. There was, in an Indian village, an honest soldier, at home on leave, who had to answer to a claim, brought by the local money-lender, on a bond purporting to bear the sepoy's signature, and attested by witnesses whose names appeared as having seen it executed. The bond was a forgery, and the witnesses were men of straw, suborned by the banker for a few pence: but the defendant did not see his way to proving a negative; so he elected to acknowledge that the instrument was genuine and valid, to the astonishment and delight of the banker. But, added the innocent looking warrior, the bond had been duly redeemed; the banker had, indeed, excused himself for not returning it, but *here was his written receipt*. By all the rules of evidence judgment ought to have gone for the plaintiff, the defence being almost palpably false. But the bond happened to have been written on English paper; and the Judge, holding it to the light, found the watermark of a year subsequent to that on which the debt was alleged to have been contracted. The banker at once offered an easy and plausible explanation; but the officer, well aware of the habits of him and his class, unhesitatingly threw out the claim with costs, not on the ground that the debt had been discharged, but that, despite the defendant's admission, it had never been contracted. The decision was probably just, it was scarcely either lawful, or logical.

Such are some of the snares that beset the path of an upright Judge endeavouring to do his duty in India, and some of the reasons why a methodical impostor, who has the art of forensic composition, may seem to his judicial superiors a better officer than an abler and more conscientious man.

Notwithstanding all these things, I saw no reason why one should not succeed in the judicial branch of the service, confiding, like the *President* above cited, in one's own rectitude and understanding. I saw men whom I thought no better than myself, made Judges of the High Court; I had health and industry; there seemed no reason why similar promotion should not await me in my turn. In 1867 I became engaged to Colonel Abbott's eldest daughter, and went to Europe to make her my wife, with reasonable prospects of a long and not unprosperous career. Otherwise, also, things had a hopeful look—as things are apt to go in what is, after all, "a naughty world." There was reason to expect that, after a short

holiday, one would return with one's bride to await promotion in a healthy station and a pleasant society, where we should find a comfortable bungalow, a decent stable, and a garden on which some care had been bestowed.

I left Fattehgarh at the beginning of the hot season of 1867, and went by slow stages to Alexandria, travelling by Calcutta and Madras, to see old friends. From Alexandria I booked in a good Marseilles' steamer, and thoroughly enjoyed the voyage. We went, I remember, through the Straits of Bonifacio, where one was never tired of admiring the shores clothed in the magic hues of a Mediterranean summer. After a pleasant day at Marseilles, I went on to Paris, by way of Dijon, where the refreshment-room was a thing of beauty and of joy.

Paris in 1867 was the scene of an "International Exposition" which, though inferior as a momentary effect to some of its predecessors and not the equal, as to vastness, of some that have been held in later days, was better arranged and more practical than most others. The plan was attributed to that gifted, if somewhat unsuccessful man, the Prince Napoleon (Jerome); and its peculiarity lay in the fundamental conception. For each class of exhibit was in a ring or circle, all traced round a common centre, from which radiated alleys, each of which bore the name of a nation, and led to its products. You had only to grasp this principle and you at once became your own guide. To take an example; suppose a visitor, who wished to inspect Austrian furniture: all that he needed to do was to get to the central platform and look round until he saw an alley marked "Austria," then walk down that alley until he arrived at the "furniture" ring and there he was.

After a few days at the Exhibition, and among my former friends in Paris, I went through the Breton orchards to S. Malo, and thence to the Channel Islands, the Abbotts being then settled in a very nice house and grounds near S. Peter Port, Guernsey.

After a short visit to England for a meeting with my family, and a consultation on health and eyesight with Sir Ronald Martin and Mr. White-Cooper, I returned to Guernsey, and was married in February 1868, my best man being Sir Edgar Macculloch, for many years *Bailli* of the little insular Republic. We went to France for our wedding tour, travelling by Jersey, S. Malo and Le Mans; and we found the French capital full of strange premonitory symptoms. Thiers and Jules Favre had made scenes in the Chamber; and secret treaties between Prussia and the minor German States had come out, which pointed to military combinations full of

external menace. Espionage was very general, but French wit could not be entirely repressed by any moderate amount of force, and M. Rocheforte's *Lanterne* was already beginning to shine with an unfriendly ray. I remember dining with some French friends when the recent adhesion of some Liberals was discussed. What was the difference, asked one of the guests, between M. B.——and a tiger ? The answer following that "le tigre est tacheté par la Nature, et M. B.—est acheté par le Gouvernement," an old Deputy made the pun more execrable still by muttering, "et le Gouvernement est à jeter par la fenêtre." There may have been more than one reason for the rising *Fronde* against the Empire. Some of its founders were dead ; others were away on distant embassies, etc. The policy of the Emperor was undecided at home, while he was discredited abroad by the tragic end of the Mexican enterprise and the vacillations in regard to Rome. I could not but recall my Marquis of 1863, and observe the failure of both the conditions that he had laid down as necessary before the Empire could be accepted The Catholic susceptibilities *had* been ruffled, and the tricolour had *not* been always held high. Although the season was too late to be presented at Court, we took the next best opportunity of looking at an interesting group, of whose destiny doubts were even then arising : Lord Lyons kindly aiding, in his ambassadorial capacity, by giving us a card of introduction to Mass at the Tuileries. Mounting a staircase, guarded by giants in armour, we were ushered into a room of which one side opened upon the private chapel. The body of this was on the ground-floor, but the Imperial family occupied a gallery on a level with the room. The music was sung by Mme. Patti* and the best artists of the day ; and, when it was over, the Emperor came into the room, accompanied by wife and child, while we joined the glittering circle that formed around. We were struck with the thoughtful look of the Emperor's pale face, the beauty and grace of the Empress, and the affectionate, intelligent bearing of the Prince, then a boy of twelve. That brilliant scene had but two years of existence left. Like St. Cloud—which we also visited—, the Palace itself has quite disappeared, and France has entered upon a more sober, and, let us hope, a more abiding life.

That spring saw us on our way back by way of the old overland route, the canal, though near completion, being not yet opened for traffic. It was a disturbed Europe that we were leaving. England was in the thick of the Fenian war, with explosions and outrages occurring and impending,

* Then engaged to be married to the Marquis de Caux, famed for leading cotillons at the Court-balls.

not only in Ireland, but in the usually peaceful metropolis itself. In France there were the symptoms of which I have spoken, and a growing desire for a war with Germany, which was only imperfectly repressed by a few far-seeing men, among whom was M. Emile Ollivier, soon to form a short lived and disastrous government in his unlucky country. Among minor symptoms of social disorder may be just mentioned the ascendancy, both in France and in England, of Mr. David Dunglass Home, of the "Spiritual Athenæum," who, however, came to grief in the Vice-Chancellor's Court before the end of the year. Some idea of the momentary position of the spirit king may be formed, when I say that people of the highest social rank accepted his miraculous pretensions and contended for his society. Before leaving London, I had persuaded him to dine with me, and had asked a party of hard-headed men to meet him; but before the evening arrived, he wrote to put me off, saying that he had been obliged to go to Paris on a telegraphic summons from the Empress of the French.

To conclude this unsystematic chapter, I will only add that I now saw, for the last time, that most amiable and interesting veteran of letters, the poet "Barry Cornwall," known in prosaic life as Mr. Brian Waller Procter, whose house in Weymouth Street was the afternoon rendezvoux of Dickens, Thackeray, and many other leading men, and whose youth had been passed in company of Shelley and Charles Lamb. He was as bright and sympathetic as if he had been only thirty. I remember well calling one Sunday, and finding him seated in front of the fire, with a younger man, stout and resolute-looking, but with white hair and beard. "Come in, Keene, and sit down," cried the cheery host; "now we are three poets together; this is Mr. Robert Browning." Browning was led to talk of his work, and I frankly stated the difficulty that I found in understanding *Sordello*. "Well," said the Master, "I am now publishing a poem that will be within every capacity;" he referred to *The Ring and the Book*. In the course of the afternoon Monckton Milnes joined us, and, the talk turning on Tennyson, some one said that *In Memoriam* was his masterpiece. "Ah!" cried Milnes: "He kept his tears long enough in wood before bottling them for general use." Both he and Tennyson lived to wear coronets, to be extinguished in them, as some thought. †

† Milnes was, in point of fact, created a peer so far back as 1863. Tennyson was believed to have declined a baronetcy about the same time.

CHAPTER VIII.
1868—1878.

Nothing of interest occurred until we reached Suez. Here we met the P. and O. steamer bringing homeward-bound passengers from India; and, on going aboard, one of the first persons I met was Mr. Drummond. "Ah!" cried he, "how are you? You find me returning home. I have made over charge to——," naming the Deductive. "And, by the bye," added the Ex-Governor, with a suspicion of friendly malice, "you are transferred as Judge to Azimgarh, I believe?" The blow was swift and sharp, bringing disaster to my little plans. I should have to settle, at the worst season of the year, in one of the worst stations in the country, and to send for my furniture and horses to the pleasant place, hundreds of miles off, to which I had hoped to return. My enemy had not been long in striking. Of his hostility there could remain no lingering doubt. A distinguished friend in London had already declared that the new Lieutenant-Governor—involving S——and myself in one sweep of condemnation—said that we had neither of us "done an honest day's work in our lives." This was repeated to us, perhaps, with some unconscious exaggeration by my old friend, Fred. Cooper, and, on writing to——to complain of what I had heard, I got no reply. On our arrival at Allahabad, we at once prepared to depart for our new station, when I received a note requiring my attendance at Government House at a certain fixed hour. On my obeying the summons, I was shown into the room of the Lieutenant-Governor, who offered me a chair, and asked why I was going through Allahabad without calling upon him? As I had to reply by saying that I supposed myself under a ban, I had to repeat the whole story, referring to past services, of which no one, as I observed, had better means of information than himself. He asserted that he had had no time to answer my letter, and a painful explanation ensued, which ended by His Honour assuring me that he had never said anything against me, but, on the contrary, considered the "Government under great obligations" to me. Necessarily, after this, I should have said no more; but I fear that my manner was wanting in submission. I was unwilling to accept mere words in full satisfaction; and, even if the present clouds were cleared by the little breeze, I cannot suppose that future prospects were effectually brightened.

We found Azamgarh a truly "penal settlement" Some one must, of course, go to such places as Judge; but I did not think that it ought to have been selected as the place of banishment of an officer like myself, with a good record and "a lien," as it was usual to say, on a good station. The town was a dismal hollow, with about 15,000 miserable inhabitants;

the nearest railway station eighty miles away; not half-a-dozen European residents, mostly disappointed officials, or their still more discontented wives. With malaria, unusual heat, and swarms of venomous serpents, Azamgarh appeared to be a most undesirable dwelling-place for civilised beings Nevertheless, "needs must when the——L.-G. drives;" so we sent for our property from Fatehgarh, and settled ourselves as well as we could, to "reign in this horrible place." Walking, one evening, in my own grounds, I was only just stopped in time to prevent my stepping on a large cobra. A whip-snake was killed in one of our bed-rooms.

Among the few non-official residents was an Irish planter, named Michael Patrick Dunn, a single man, believed to be well off, who had greatly distinguished himself, ten years before, in the suppression of the revolt engendered by the Mutiny of the Bengal Army.* Colonel Malleson tells us what a worthy supporter Mr. Dunn was to Venables, the better known champion of order at Azamgarh; and he evidently combined in a high degree the heroic qualities of courage and modesty. Venables was unhappily killed in the very last fight that occurred before the complete restoration of order; and Dunn had no gift of speech, or writing, whereby to bring his services to the notice of the authorities. Praise and rewards were, in those busy days, chiefly given to those who claimed them, and Dunn got little of either. He used to relate that he once met Lord Canning, and had an opportunity of benefiting himself, which he, with characteristic unselfishness, entirely neglected. The Viceroy, so Dunn reported, asked what could be done for him? "Well, my Lord," the pugnacious Irishman answered, "there is just one thing I'd like, and that's the truth. I hear there's a little fighting still going on down Bundelkhund way, and—ay ye could give me the raising of a small thrup of horse, I'd like well enough to take command av 'em." "My God!" cried the clement ruler, raising both his hands, "is this never to cease?" I tell the tale as told to me.

Any way, "Paddy" Dunn was a tall, well-built fellow, with a brown beard and a pair of merry blue eyes, somewhat veiled by a pair of gold rimmed spectacles which he wore continuously, and adjusted, as he talked, with a gesture peculiar to himself. His great weakness was thirst, not the drought of a mere solitary tippler, but a grand, Gargantuan, convivial absorption of anything stimulating. It was asserted, and I believe truly, that, while campaigning, he never indulged; and he

* *See* Kaye and Malleson, Cabinet edition, Vol. VI, pp. 65—68. This, which is a revised issue of an excellent work, contains facts of great interest not to be found elsewhere. A little book by the present writer ("Fifty-Seven." W. H. Allen, 1883) may be also consulted.

probably found adequate excitement in pursuing, charging, and sabring the mutineers and rebels. In his more peaceful hours he made ample atonement to himself for any inconvenience he may have found in abstinence. When I one day ventured to suggest the dangers of drinking, he good humouredly assured me that he was thoroughly of my opinion and had turned over a new leaf. "I'm an altered man," said Paddy, with gentle earnestness. "I never touch anything now. A bottle of whiskey will last me, it may be, the four and twenty hours." Then, as if thinking that he was making himself out too much of a milk-sop, he added with more animation; "But the clar't, I drink it like watther," which, indeed, he did.

The element of tragedy, however, was far more active in our Azamgarh life. My daughter, Emily, a charming girl of 17, died in my arms, struck down suddenly by the heat; my wife bore a son who ailed from his cradle to his premature grave; and we all fell into the depths of despair and disease.

A somewhat sensational Sessions case concluded my professional career at Azamgarh.* A young police officer in Oudh, whose father and brothers had been murdered at Kota in October 1857, had devoted his energies to pursuing mutineers and bringing them to justice.* One day he brought to our station a fine powerful Hindu, about 30 years of age, against whom he had prepared a convincing indictment of mutiny and murder. Briefly stated, the facts were these:—The troops at Azamgarh, at the beginning of June 1857, had consisted of the 17th Bengal Native Infantry, the Adjutant of which regiment was Lieutenant Hutchinson. On the night of the 3rd the sepoys attacked the Europeans, who were fortified in the Court House, with a gun in position before the gate. Hutchinson, going out to address the men, who were threatening to seize the gun, was shot in cold blood; and the sepoys presently went off in pursuit of some treasure of which they had heard; the rest of the Europeans took advantage of their absence to escape, and the sepoys ultimately departed to Faizabad in Oudh. The man who had shot Hutchinson was elected to the vacant adjutancy, and the uniform and horse of the deceased officer were conferred on him. When, after a career of murder and rapine, the 17th Native Infantry was at last overthrown and dispersed, this fellow escaped in disguise, and obtained a place as pointsman at a station of the E. I. Railway at Fatehpur. In the course of his researches, the matter came to Mr. B.'s knowledge, and

* Malleson, *ub sup.* VI, 162. The Kota contingent was, what is now called, an "Army Service Corps," an auxiliary force raised and paid by the Native State but organised in the European manner and partly under British officers The Chief was, to a certain extent, held answerable for the misconduct of the men.

he sent a detective who knew the ex-adjutant, to hunt him up. The detective found him at his post, and, being in plain clothes, and a man of his own nationality, got into his confidence, and heard from his own lips a boastful account of his exploits, accompanied by a pathetic complaint of fallen fortunes. The police agent took an opportunity of seeing the station-master, to whom he revealed the matter, and showed his warrant for arresting the man; but the station-master objected to his arrest until the next train had been duly shunted. As it chanced, this was an express, carrying the Viceroy and his staff, any accident to whom would have been not only a tragic, but a political event. Presently the train arrived, and, being properly directed, steamed past the place without stopping; the pointsman was then taken into custody, with the explanation, that the execution of the warrant had been delayed to allow the shunting of the train. "Shunt!" cried the turbulent rascal. "If I had known all, it should have been shunted to H——" Being committed for trial on the clearest evidence, the mutineer made no serious defence; but a futile attempt to save him was made in a manner which brought the case into contact with my private affairs. During the progress of the trial, my wife's carriage was waylaid by the prisoner's mother, praying for mercy. On the evening when it was known that sentence of death had been passed, she was, as usual, driving to take me home from Court, when the poor woman sprang suddenly from the road-side and flung herself before the horses' feet. The coachman pulled up, and she was carried to the foot-path, where she sat, screaming curses, and praying that my wife might never bear a son! To end the sad tale, I have only further to say that the sepoy was hanged in front of the Court House, on the very spot where he had committed his crime, and the Civil Surgeon stated that he weighed 14 stone without superfluous fat. It seemed shocking that so fine a piece of God's handiwork should be destroyed in cold blood; but it was a maxim of the day that there could be no "limitation" in such cases; and, of course, one had to administer the law without regard to one's own feelings.

Before the end of the year I was offered a transfer to Fatehpur, the scene of the mutineer's arrest. It was a poor town and a dull station, not in any respect superior to Azamgarh; and the chief objects of interest there were the place where the late Judge had been murdered, and the place where the murderer had been hanged. But it was on the main line of the E. I. Railway, about equi-distant from two large stations—Allahabad and Cawnpore; and, in the then condition of our health and spirits, almost any conceivable change would have been welcome that would take us from Azamgarh. This

change, however, did us no good; indeed, I think, Fatehpur must have been below the level of the sea; so swampy was it, so hot and malarious. There was, at some distance, an outlying district, whither the Judge had to go on circuit—the notoriously pestilential Banda, where the baked black-soil splits, and mephitic exhalations reek up from the fissures. It had never had more than two sources of prosperity, the residence of a native Court, and its position as an *entrepôt* of the cotton trade, both of which having now ceased, the town had lost a full half of its inhabitants. In such places are the lines of an officer cast when he gets premature promotion, or, as in my case, has incurred disfavour in high quarters.

It would not, however, have been human life if incidents of a comic character had been wholly wanting. One of these is so illustrative of the peculiar conditions of life in the "Mofussil," or provincial India of that time, as to seem worth recording. A movement had been for some time on foot for promoting the education of native females, and Normal Schools were being set up by private or municipal zeal, where young women could be trained to go forth as governesses into respectable native families. The conservatives held aloof, while the more candid thinkers offered friendly criticism; and the scheme had, perhaps, elements of impossibility from the first. Any way, my predecessor had opened a Normal School at Fatehpore, appointing, as head-mistress, a Hindu widow, recommended by the Deputy Inspector of Schools. When I joined I was informed by Mr. Kempson, the Director-General of the Provincial Department, that great interest was felt in the Institution by his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, who had personally visited and inspected it, in company with Lady——. It was, therefore, expected that whoever went to Fatehpore as Judge, would consider the care of the "Female Normal School" a part of his duty. To hear was to obey; I commended the undertaking to the special attention of the Municipal Committee of the town, and they readily promised their interest; the more so, since it enjoyed a handsome subvention from State funds, and was not likely to make any heavy demands upon the resources of the municipality. Soon after, my wife and I paid a visit to the school. We found a good native house, inhabited by half a dozen young Hindu widows, under the Lady Principal; their progress in learning very moderate, their manner bold, for their class, almost saucy. On our way home we talked the matter over, and came to the conclusion that further information was much required, though we did not quite see how it was to be obtained. But a little patience brought the solution. Girls' Schools had become sufficiently numerous to require the services of a female inspector; or, at least, a Mrs. G.——had been appointed to the

post, and ere long she visited our station, and was necessarily invited to examine the Normal School. On her return from her inspection we were more sorry than surprised to find our worst suspicions of the genuineness and respectability of the place more than confirmed, so to say, by the opinion of this expert. My duty was plain: at the next meeting of the Municipal Commissioners I mentioned the result of Mrs. G.'s inspection; but my communication caused no emotion. "Why, of course," said a white-bearded old member, "the Principal is an old friend of the Deputy Inspector, and the other inmates are all bad characters too." On my asking, with some indignation, how such a state of things could have gone on so long without any of the authorities being informed, or the L.-G. being prevented from taking his wife to such a place, I was naively reminded that the character of young Hindu widows was notorious! To cut a long story short, I had to report the whole affair to my friend, Kempson, advising that the grant-in-aid should be instantly withdrawn. I could not blame myself, though I felt that I was again in an unfortunate position.

In 1870, after nearly two years of this wretched life, my bright and brave companion utterly broke down, and I took a house at Mussoorie with my brother-in-law, Colonel Stallard, so that my wife might have the company of her sister, who also required a change, and in the autumn I joined the party. The house was one known as "The Hermitage" in the loveliest part of the place. In front was a dell called the "Happy Valley;" at the back we looked down on the wooded ravine through which the Umláva runs down to join the Jumna; far northward rose tier upon tier of the mountains terminating in the great glaciers of Jumnotri. Here we passed a quiet time, studying the daily despatches that told us of the lurchings and struggles of the Napoleonic barque, and its gradual foundering in the sea of blood begun in 1852. "For Tophet is ordained of old."

At the end of the year I was supposed to have had enough of punishment for a time. In legal phrase, I had "purged my contempt," and was allowed to revisit the haunts of civilisation as Judge of Agra, where I was destined to pass a long and agreeable incumbency. On arriving at the deserted capital, we found the "civil lines," where the head-quarters of the Provincial Government had once been, in a state of semi-depopulation. The fine houses, once occupied by the heads of departments, to be had for almost nominal rentals; the Courts, where the highest tribunals of the Province had once sat, now made over to the District Judge and his subordinates. We got an estate with a palatial residence and numerous outbuildings, including a second house of two storeys, the chief

reception-room in three divisions, opening with arches one into the other, the whole one hundred feet long. This estate has been since purchased by a neighbouring chief, the Raja of Bhurtpore. The last time I saw it, Sir West Ridgway was living there—or was it Sir C. Euan-Smith?—one of the Political Agents.

The years passed at Agra brought consolation for our past sufferings. The neighbourhood, though extremely hot in summer, was not usually unhealthy, though one year our "civil lines" were the scene of a short, but severe epidemic of sudden death. Two miles from us there was a cantonment with a good club and plenty of military society. As regarded work, too, I was more fortunate than of late; the cases were of a far more interesting class than usual, and a number of good advocates, native and European, had remained in their old haunts when the High Court was removed to Allahabad. The place, as is well known, contains many ancient and beautiful monuments, having been once the capital of the Mughal Empire. The Palace of the great Akbar in the Fort, his Mausoleum at Sikandra, above all, the famous Taj Mahal, are points of interest to local antiquarians, and objects of pilgrimage, in the cold weather, to travellers from all the ends of the earth. With the help of my friend, Colonel John Baillie, I founded an "Archæological Society," a copy of whose transactions may be found in the India Office Library; and very distinguished "Globe Trotters" often came to me with letters of introduction, and were received as guests in my house. I cannot say that this was altogether prudent, as it involved expenses which fell rather heavily on a man with a transitory income and a growing family. But it was such a happiness to see a few people who came from civilisation and brought echoes of European life! Amongst those whose visits I recall with the greatest pleasure, I may mention the Hon'ble Dudley Fortescue—then M. P. for Andover; Count Sierakowsky, a distinguished Prussian geographer; the Earl of Sandwich, then Lord Hinchingbrooke, of the Grenadier Guards; the Hon'ble D. D. Field, the famous American jurist; the Duc de Blacas; the Comte de Breteuil; and others whose names I forget. One of my most interesting visitors was Basil Verschagin, the Russian painter, who, after accompanying General Kauffmann on the Khiva campaign, was destined to take part in the siege of Plevna and the forcing of the Shipka Pass, and to bring back pictures in which the horrors of war have been shown to the world with exemplary realism.

A pleasant addition to the regular work at Agra was the quarterly circuit to my old district of Muttra. That station had been greatly altered and improved since I began my

official life there in 1849. The city had, indeed, undergone but little change, and its towers and temples still looked down upon their reflection in the calm Jumna. But the European station had undergone a thorough transformation; the liberality of a wealthy Hindu firm had turned the Magistrate's bungalow into a sumptuous masonry villa; the Court-houses had been remodelled; in lieu of the native horse artillery and grey-coated black dragoons, a full corps of British cavalry occupied the cantonment. During the greater part of my incumbency the regiment so quartered was the tenth Hussars, in which every officer was a sportsman and good fellow. I was invited to become an honorary member of their mess, and many a pleasant evening have I spent there. Colonel Molyneux was their first commandant; among other officers I particularly remember Lords Ralph Kerr, Crichton, and Campden; Cavendish (since Lord Chesham), "Donjy" Bulkeley, "Chicken" Hartopp, Brabazon, Wood, Gough, etc., etc.

The early years of my Agra life are also memorable for me by reason of a final effort that I made to return to the executive branch of the service. This was, doubtless, a mistake; I should not have left that department in 1867, unless I left it for good and with a firm intention of adhering in future to judicial duty. But the occasion was so natural that no one surely can make it a ground of serious condemnation.

It may be remembered that in 1862 I left the Muzafarnagar Settlement unfinished, after sending in a report of progress, and expressing confidence of early success if permitted to return after the short absence ordered by the doctors. Up to that time I had been a somewhat fortunate member of the service, selected for early promotion by Thomason and Colvin, and honoured by some proofs of the confidence of their successor. But "the worm was at the root" of my little tree; and my enforced departure before the work was finished was seized as an opening for permanent exclusion from opportunities of distinction in what was then the most favoured side of the service. Then came years of discredit for myself, and of apparent success for others in my former district. The new man, as already mentioned made quick work of the settlement, sent up his final report after two years more operation, and retired from the scene in a blaze of triumph. But this glory was of short duration; the adjoining district of Meerut, coming under settlement, was entrusted to an officer of exceptional energy, who found, as he approached the Muzafarnagar border, such constant complaints, such universal signs of over-assessment and consequent distress, that he felt bound to bring the matter to the notice of the Revenue Board. Being in conse-

quence directed to add to his own immediate work a reconsideration of the Muzafarnagar Settlement, he discovered a state of things which led to the re-opening of the whole business, eight years after the people had hoped to have done with trouble for a generation. On hearing of these things, I conceived it a duty to myself and family to seek an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor, for which purpose I repaired to Allahabad. Going to Government House at the appointed hour, I found myself received, not, as usual, in his Honor's private room, but in a sort of solemn hall of audience, where the great man sat surrounded by his Secretaries and Members of the Board. Rather pleased than perplexed at this publicity, I stated my case In reply to the question, What I had come for? I said in effect that I ventured to submit that, if my work was to be disturbed, I ought to be employed, or at the least consulted. Was it or was it not the case that the settlement of Muzafarnagar was being revised owing to any defects or errors of mine? This question—put I trust with due respect—was not immediately answered by his Honor; on which Mr. John Inglis, the Member of the Board, in whose peculiar jurisdiction this district lay, made no hesitation in assuring the Lieutenant-Governor that the Muzafarnagar Settlement had broken down from no fault of mine. "Keene's work," he was good enough to add, "has stood all tests, and his assessments have furnished the basis of all later ratings." Satisfied with such complete testimony, I withdrew; the confirmation, in the form of a formally recorded "Resolution," came later, as will in due course appear.

The immediate result of that effort, for which I do not think that I can be reasonably blamed, was that I was offered an officiating appointment as Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit during the temporary absence of the Hon'ble R. Drummond, the permanent incumbent. Judged by the light of subsequent events, I do not believe that this offer was due to any real change of sentiments in the breast of the Lieutenant-Governor, who intended it, either as a sort of snare, or as a way of providing for a temporary vacancy in the simplest manner. But at the time it undoubtedly had all the appearance of an important step in the right direction. A District Judgeship, though an office of considerable independence and usefulness, presented but a narrow outlook; for, if other things were equal, there were only one or two higher posts in the judicial line to be divided among some twenty-seven aspirants. A Commissioner, although his work might be of less importance, and some at least made it almost a sinecure, led an active out-door life, and the chances of his becoming a Member of the Board, or Lieutenant-Governor, were about

even. His work! well, it almost depended on himself. Under the curious system prevailing in Bengal and the N.-W.-Provinces, he might be everything or nothing, or anything between a subordinate Providence, or a mere Post-office with a certain licence of opening and garbling people's letters. His house in the hot weather, his tent in the cold, is open, or ought to be, to all sorts and conditions of men. He has appellate powers in suits concerning land which he can hear in open court, or dispose of mechanically in his private chamber. He has to furnish annual reports of all kinds of administrative operations, which may be based on his own inspections and researches, or may be compiled by the clerks in his office. I held this post for nearly half of 1872, during which I travelled over nearly the whole of my division—a country about equal in area to the kingdom of Scotland, with over five millions of inhabitants; regulated a number of complicated interests without friction; and introduced reforms in procedure whereby the judicial powers of the office became for the first time a reality. Lest this last statement may be thought "bounce," I had better explain the nature of the chief of the reforms referred to. It was the Commissioner's duty to control the decision of suits in which questions of rent, distraint, eviction and such like matters were concerned; and to hear appeals when the awards of the district revenue officers on such cases were called in question by the litigants. I found that it was too much the habit to dispose of these cases in a summary manner; and my experience on the Bench led me to substitute a system whereby the appeals of each district should be disposed of as the camp came into that district, due notices being served on appellant and respondent, warning them of the time and place fixed for the hearing. All due care was then taken to act punctually accordingly. So elementary a measure of procedure ought not to require mentioning; but I knew of a case, not in the Agra division, where a British barrister, retained in an appeal of this kind, was long unable to find out the place and time fixed for hearing, and, when at last he obtained a notice, attended only to find the case disposed of before his arrival.

Having thus laboured, and finding that Mr. Drummond, on his return to India, was to be translated to another Division, I not unreasonably hoped to be confirmed as Commissioner. But the Lieutenant-Governor was equal to the occasion, and a junior officer was sent to relieve me; an amiable man, but of no special merit or distinction. I solicited an explanation in vain. It was a matter of *stet pro ratione voluntas*. It is all over now, and hardly deserves reviving, unless as a little object-lesson to men in power, to warn them against unjust use, or

abuse, of their great means of affecting human happiness. Here were the affairs of multitudes of harmless agriculturists taken out of the hands of one who understood them, and whom they were beginning to understand, to be put into the charge of an outsider and a routineer. As for myself, I had been injured beyond hope of redress; used as a warming-pan and thrown aside when done with, calumny being probably employed (in what are known as "confidential remarks") by way of justification—and all this by a man of conspicuous piety and high claims to respect in private life, but unable to resist the temptations of personal feeling.

During my incumbency as Commissioner I gave a dance to the members of the European colony; and, while the festivity was at its highest, a telegram was put into my hands, announcing the assassination of the Viceroy, the respected and beloved Mayo, in the midst of a beneficent career. I afterwards heard from Sir Richard Pollock a very curious account of the antecedents of the murderer, who had been his orderly when he was Commissioner at Peshawar. Sir Richard told me that the man was gentle and fond of children; but came one day to ask for leave, and, on being refused by his master, who had an inkling of what was in hand, went off to his mountain-home, murdered a man, in pursuit of a family *vendetta*, and calmly returned to present himself for trial. It was necessary to sentence such a criminal to death; but, on the Commissioner's recommendation, the sentence was commuted by the very Viceroy whom he afterwards murdered.

Whether it were the fact that Sher Ali's temper was roused by the substitution of transportation, and that his frightful crime was in any way due to such a cause, I cannot undertake to say. But I had some reason to suspect the possibility of so strange a thing, in an incident which occurred in my own court not long after I had reverted to the Judgeship. I had finished the trial of a man who had taken life in a way that technically amounted to murder, yet presented extenuating circumstances. Although the Assessors had found him guilty, and I was satisfied that the finding was in conformity with the evidence, I resolved on inflicting a secondary penalty, as the discretion vested in me by the Code allowed me to do. No sooner had I pronounced the mitigated award, than I felt a missile graze my ear, and heard a loud noise upon the panel at my back. The prisoner had taken off his hobnailed shoe, and flung it with all his force at my head. He was removed to prison, and, when he got there, was asked by the Superintendent, now Sir John Tyler, K. C. I. E., what had led him to act as he had done? He at once answered: "Why did not the——sentence me to be hanged?" This incident, trifling

as it proved, may, perhaps, help to throw a light upon the crime of Sher Ali.

In the autumn of 1874 the Deductive was transferred to the council of the Viceroy as finance member, and was succeeded in the Government of the N.-W.-Provinces by Sir John Strachey, his Secretary being the present very distinguished Sir Charles Elliott, since Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces. In July of the following year they selected me for a second turn at the Commissionership during a temporary vacancy, and I had another opportunity of recurring to the field-work I had learned at Muzafarnagar. A question of great moment had arisen in a sub-division of the Mainpuri district, where my immediate predecessor, the amiable mediocrity already mentioned, had got the settlement into some confusion. A rising young officer had made assessments which had been complained of and my predecessor had reported adversely to him without going to see the estates and without hearing the appeals. I was accordingly under the necessity of taking up these neglected and pressing affairs, and, although the rainy season was not over, and the swamped lands were only to be reached on the back of elephants, I inspected them all, and wrote a report which did justice to all parties, and procured me the honour of official recognition in the following year.* By that time, however, the substantive incumbent had returned from leave, and I was once more back at the Judge's Court.

In the cold season of 1875, Agra was the scene of much gaiety by reason of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, with some of whose suite I was already acquainted. It is my misfortune, perhaps my fault, that I have no very great interest in courts and courtiers; but, as the chief local antiquary, I was afforded some opportunities of being useful to the distinguished visitors. The Stracheys entertained them well, having pitched a sumptuous camp for the purpose, with theatre, billiard-room, and other luxuries, very unusual in an Indian encampment. The Anglo-Indians of the province gave a ball in the great hall of the old Mughal Palace. Another fête was given by the Municipality of Agra in the Taj Garden, which was illuminated for the purpose; and I accompanied the Prince, by special invitation, in a visit to the country seat of the Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. A pretty incident occurred as we drove out. Some comely girls came down to the road-side at a village where the horses were changed and sang a song, of which I subsequently made, by command of

* "In conclusion I am to state that your predecessor's action in the matter...are [*sic*] approved, and to request that the thanks of the Board may be conveyed to Mr. Keene for his report."

His Royal Highness, the following rough version—so far as I can now remember :—

"No fine scarlet scarf have I,
Nor kittle of Assyrian dye ;
If such you seek, I cannot be
One in your festivity—
But you my shame will share.

"I have no bangles for my arms,
Nor amulet of magic charms,
If such you own, I cannot hope
In the games with you to cope—
But you my shame will share.

"Jingling gauds for joyful feet
Worn by me you will not meet ;
If such ornaments you ask,
I must leave you to your task ;—
For you my shame must share."

In July, 1876, Sir John retired from the service, but soon after assumed charge of the finances, which had been ably administered by our last Lieutenant-Governor under the immediate inspiration of the wise and experienced Viceroy, Lord Northbrook. By the end of March, 1876, when the financial year came to a close, there was substantial surplus, after allowing for loss by exchange and the so-called "famine-relief expenditure," with which, happily, our provinces had no concern or share.* The new Lieutenant-Governor was a gentleman who was understood to owe his advancement to Crown patronage in England. Lord Lytton became Governor-General and Viceroy, and ere long honoured Agra with a visit. As this does not pretend to be a historical work, it does not require an examination of Lytton's official career ; but I am sure that all who came into contact with him will agree in bearing witness to the great charm of his conversation, in which wit, acuteness, and affability were alike remarkable.

The famine of 1873-74 had been localised in Bengal, and, dealt with most successfully by Lord Northbrook and Sir Richard Temple. A most serious and almost universal calamity of the same sort began to impend in 1876. But for the present our part of India was safe. I was deputed to officiate as Commissioner to the Allahabad Division in the hot weather ; and, during my absence from Agra, a ridiculous incident occurred at which I was glad not to have assisted. A sufficiently full and correct account of the once notorious "Fuller

* The Deductive was far more successful as a Financier than some of his brother-officers—before or after— ; something was due, no doubt, to Lord Northbrook ; but it cannot be denied that Sir — — was a skilful and assiduous subordinate, whatever may be thought of his powers in command.

case" may be found in Captain Trotter's excellent history of Modern India*, and the incident is connected with these pages only by the fact that it inspired me with a little epigram. Mr. Leeds, the Joint-Magistrate of Agra, was reproved for not being more severe in the punishment of a pleader in my Court named Fuller for assaulting a servant, who unhappily died the same day of a ruptured spleen, not directly due to the assault. The comment that was circulated was to the following effect :—

"Robert, Lord Lytton,
Had little to sit on,
Being slender of body and limb,
Till he heard of the deeds
Of the lenient Leeds,
And proceeded to sit upon him."

The affair was as trivial as the lines ; but a vehement dispute with the Local Government and High Court arose, and race-feelings were aroused that are always best left sleeping.

Next year the drought reached the North-West Provinces, no rain fell till October, and much suffering ensued to man and beast. The cattle died fast, having nothing to eat but the straw of such crops as could be raised round the wells, eked out by the leaves of trees, and this provision was so scanty that only the more valuable animals could be kept alive. Then came the turn of the old, the young, and the female population, who began to die like flies. We got up a relief fund, from which numbers were fed daily. So late as February 1878, I find from an entry in my journal, that in one poor house, where a pound of food was the day's allowance, there were 1,000 new admissions in one morning. The jails, of which there were two at Agra, were crowded by the great numbers of persons either driven to crime by want, or committing minor offences in the hope of receiving punishment which would give them food and shelter for a few weeks.

In the midst of these sad scenes the Government held a solemn Assemblage at Delhi to celebrate the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India.† This ceremony took place on the 1st of January 1877, and on the 8th the Viceroy came to Aligarh to take part in a less dazzling, but not perhaps less important celebration. The College founded by Sayad Ahmad at Aligarh has been already mentioned, and I am proud to say that I was one of the only two Europeans elected to the committee. The plans for the buildings being now complete, and Muslim feeling, for and against the movement, by this time largely excited, Lord Lytton undertook to lay the

* *India under Victoria* ; Vol. II, p 366. London, W. H. Allen, 1886.
† See Trotter II 368.

foundation stone*. The season was that fair time which succeeds Christmas in Upper India. The winter rains had refreshed the face of the earth, the trees were in full leaf, the sun shone with a mellow ray on the roses in the grounds about the College site, and a cheerful crowd, chiefly of Mahomedans, awaited the arrival of the Viceregal party from early morning. A little before noon His Excellency appeared, attended by Lord Downe and by his own personal staff, and a *cortège* of distinguished followers. After an address had been read by the eldest son of the founder, Lord Lytton spoke in the graceful and scholarly way that distinguished him from all, even the greatest, of Anglo-Indians. He declared the pleasure which the Government took, and would ever take, in such an institution, referring to the past glories of Muslim learning, and to the benefits that European science and civilisation had once received from Islam, and exhorting Muslims of to-day whom his words might reach, to "seek new fields of conquest and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition." The Viceroy and his suite left in the afternoon; in the evening there was a dinner-party, in which many Asiatic gentlemen joined, and it devolved on me to propose the health of our excellent entertainer. It may be well to add that the College has escaped the dangers of Anglo-Indian interference, and conciliated the once hostile attitude of Mahomedan orthodoxy. It now receives over 400 students from all parts of the vast peninsula, and by no means all Muslims. The buildings whose foundation we witnessed seventeen years ago are now completed, the principal quadrangle measuring 1,000 feet by 500, and standing in grounds of one hundred acres. Each student has his own suite of rooms, and the total cost of his board and education is only Rs. 250 per annum. It is a source of pardonable pride to have been connected, however remotely, with such a noble undertaking.

About the middle of the year we moved into a fine house near my court, having wide grounds, including a steeple-chase course, a swimming-bath, and a detached library, in which I prosecuted my historical studies with much labour. On the following year I was transferred to Meerut.

H. G. KEENE.

* Sir S Ahmad's outspoken ways had at one time given such offence that, about twenty years ago, the oracles of Islam were consulted by his enemies, and a *Fatwa* was obtained from Mecca to the effect that his killing would be no murder. About the same time he firmly resisted a proposal by the "Deductive" to introduce in his scheme a measure of education for girls. It would, he said, "prove a complete failure, and probably produce mischievous results." (See *Life* by Graham, p. 323.)

ART. IV.—THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE OPIUM QUESTION.

NOW that the Report of the Opium Commission has been for some time published in its seven bulky volumes, with their two-and-a-half thousand pages of closely printed matter, an idea can be formed of the enormous mass of evidence that it has recorded on the subject. The general public, however, are not likely to take much interest in the voluminous testimony of the witnesses examined; and, except the actual Report of the Commission, which is contained in Volume VI, the most interesting reading is probably to be found in the Historical Appendices by Sir James Lyall and Mr. Dane, in the seventh and last volume. As comparatively few people, other than Government officials to whom it is supplied, are likely to have the opportunity of seeing the Report, or, if they should have the opportunity, the time to devote to reading it, a short resumé of these interesting appendices may not seem out of place.

Opium, it appears, was not always grown in India, and no mention of it occurs in the earlier Sanskrit writers. It is first alluded to in the "Bhâraprakâsha" and other Ayur-Vedic works, that date only some 800 years or so back. The origin of the word is Greek, and it is supposed that the knowledge of the drug was communicated by the Greeks to the Arabs, by whom it was introduced into India and China The reason of the spread of opium eastwards with the Mahomedan conquests is, probably, that the use of alcohol being forbidden by the then newly promulgated religion, those who desired intoxicants were obliged to have recourse to opium, or the various products of the hemp plant. Hence the use of opium spread eastwards from Arabia, through Persia, and into India with the Arab invaders who conquered Sindh from the sea in the eighth century, and was extended through the country by the successive waves of Mahomedan conquest, each of which extended further than the last.

The introduction of opium into China, too, appears to have been due to the Mahomedan Mongols who established the Yuen Dynasty in China in A. D. 1260; for, although mention of the poppy is found in older Chinese writers, they merely refer to it as an ornamental flower whose seeds in decoction possessed certain medical qualities, and without any reference to its intoxicating effects. The Mongols were, no doubt, acquainted with the use of opium from their conquests in Turkestan and Persia, where, as we have said, it was by that time

known and in general use. As the use of opium became more extended, it became a valuable article, not only to the producer and manufacturer, but also to the trader, as, on account of its compactness and freedom from liability to deterioration by keeping, it became a convenient medium for exchange for the commodities of the countries where it was consumed. Up to the fifteenth century the sea trade in the Indian and Chinese seas had been entirely in Oriental hands; but all this was changed by the discovery of the Cape route by the Portuguese in 1488, although it was not until ten years later that they first crossed the Indian Ocean and landed on the West Coast of India.

From this time history chronicles a series of attempts made by English and Dutch adventurers to secure a share in the Oriental trade. They generally, however, failed, as individual traders were not sufficiently strong to contend with the Spanish and Portuguese monopoly. To break down this monopoly, the English and Dutch East India Companies were formed, between the years 1600 and 1602, and in the course of the next ten years they had founded factories on the east coast at Surat, and in Bengal at Hooghly. Though the English and Dutch quarrelled amongst themselves, they combined against the Spanish and Portuguese, and by the middle of the seventh century had obtained a considerable portion of the trade in opium, as well as in other commodities. Although, in the case of general commodities, the English had the predominance, the Dutch maintained the lion's share of the opium trade, and attempted to create a monopoly in it for the purpose of export to Ceylon, the Malacca Straits, and the Malay Archipelago. The Portuguese, on the other hand, maintained on the west the trade in Malwa opium, which they exported from their ports on the Bay of Cambay. This they exported to China, and their trade with that country was so important, that in 1537 they had founded a settlement there, at Macao, fully a hundred years before the English attempted the China trade.

This will probably be entirely new information to those anti-opiumists who hold the belief that England introduced the import of foreign opium into China, and stimulated the demand for it there in order to increase its consumption and their own consequent profits. There is also no reason from history to infer that the consumption of opium in India itself increased after the European traders and companies appeared. Portuguese, Dutch, and Mussalman writers of the sixteenth century all speak of the prevalence of the habit at that time, and the evidence seems rather to point to the amount of the drug then consumed being greater than at the present time, as mention is made of large exports to Malabar and the Deccan which now consume very little opium. By their occupation of Bengal in

1758, the East India Company obtained a stronger position in their mercantile dealings, and became masters of the town of Patna and the poppy-growing country in its neighbourhood. This town had already become the settlement of numerous traders, and was the northern limit from which the factories on the Hooghly drew their stores of opium and other commodities from inland. Up to this time, it must be borne in mind, and, in fact, up to the year 1772, the East India Company occupied merely the position of traders in respect of opium, as of any other commodity, buying it at the market rates in this country, and disposing of it by auction in Calcutta. The monopoly of its purchase, which they afterwards assumed, was not then in their hands, and even in the case of this monopoly, history, again, corrects a somewhat prevalent error among the Anti-Opiumist Party, *viz.*. that the Company created it. For it shows that they took over a monopoly which they found previously existing, and merely continued the conditions which they found in force.

This, then, was the state of things up to 1758, when the events of that time led to the English becoming masters of Bengal and Behar, and, with them, of the town of Patna and the surrounding opium-producing districts. When these provinces came under our control, there already existed at Patna a ring of native opium dealers who, by means of combination and the well-known oriental custom of giving advances for cultivation, had contrived to prevent the cultivators from selling their produce to any merchants but themselves. The European merchants trading in opium were, therefore, obliged to buy from them at the rates at which they controlled the market. This practically amounted to a monopoly, or "corner," though not a monopoly granted by the Moghul Government. For, though the expedient of a monopoly of the purchase and sale of opium had been resorted to by the Moghul Government from the time of Akbar, who farmed it out to contractors for districts or entire provinces, the disturbances of the early part of the eighteenth century had so weakened that Government, that the state monopoly in Bengal and Behar had fallen into disuse, and its place been taken by the ring alluded to above, formed by the leading merchants among themselves.

Although the Company took over the collection of the Revenue in 1665, it was not until 1773 that it took control of the Administration which, in the meantime, remained in the hands of the native authorities. During this interval the Agents of the Company were able to take advantage of their predominant situation, without the restraints which the responsibilities of authority on their part would have imposed; and, as they were at that time allowed to engage in trade on their

own account, the Company's Agents at Patna, who were known as the Patna Council, appropriated for their private benefit the monopoly of the purchase of opium which they found in the hands of the Patna ring of merchants.

The Dutch and French Companies would not, however, acquiesce in this transfer; and, finding the native ring broken, tried to create an interest for themselves, by sending their own purchasers to deal direct with the cultivators. The dispute which resulted between them and the Company's servants was finally settled by a compromise which left the Company the sole purchaser from the cultivators and small country dealers, while the French and Dutch were allowed a certain proportion of the opium so purchased. This arrangement, however, did not entirely prevent interlopers from forcing their way in and buying direct from the ryots, which led to numerous disturbances and affrays.

When, in 1773, Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General, with statutory powers to organise a Government, one of his first reforms was to deprive the Agents of the Company of the right of private trade which they had so greatly abused. But the case of the Patna opium monopoly was found to be of a special nature, and it was consequently decided to recognise the monopoly, and to take it over for the benefit of the public Revenue.

The Company was, no doubt, justified in doing this, as it would have led to endless disturbances and affrays if the trade in opium had been declared free, and every adventurer of the rival European nations allowed to compete in its purchase. Moreover, it was merely recognising a monopoly that had existed from Mogul times, originally as a State monopoly, and was acquiesced in by the cultivators themselves.

The Company, although taking over the right of purchase, left the form of the traffic unchanged, and retained the same native contractors who formerly purchased in the private interests of the Patna Council, paying them for the opium supplied at the arranged contract price.

The bulk of the opium the Company sold in Calcutta at public auction, reserving a portion for the French and Dutch Companies, in recognition of the interest they had previously acquired in the monopoly, and keeping a portion for the Company's own use on its commercial side. "These amounts the Companies were to take over at the average auction prices. The amount reserved by the British East India Company was small, and was intended only for the trade use of their commercial factory in Sumatra."

The Company had now, by its monopoly, obtained the profits which were formerly made by the merchants who traded

between Patna and Calcutta, and in 1775 it was proposed that it should go a step further and reap the exporter's profits as well, by itself exporting and selling the opium in China. This proposal was, however, rejected by the Council; and, though, in 1781, on account of the failure of its opium sales in Calcutta, and the expenses of the wars in which it was then engaged, the Company did send two ship-loads of opium, one to China, and one to the Straits, the Chinese consignment was sold at a heavy loss, because of the "immense quantities" of opium imported just before by the Portugese. This enterprise was disapproved by the Court of Directors, as contrary to the policy and dignity of the Company, and was not repeated.

The system of monopoly described above continued until the time of Lord Cornwallis, when, in 1786, an official purchasing agency was substituted for the contract system with native dealers. This change became necessary, as it was found that owing to the high prices bid at auction by the Government Contractors for the right to contract, they were unable to pay the cultivators a reasonable price for the opium, and, at the same time, retain a profit for themselves, and the cultivators consequently suffered.

Lord Cornwallis had, therefore, only two alternatives open to him, either to improve the condition of the cultivator by removing the abuses of the contractor system, and appointing a direct agency, or to revert to free trade in opium.

Sir James Lyall conclusively shows that Lord Cornwallis was right in adopting the former alternative, as the latter, besides being, in all probability, as before, a source of disturbances between rival purchasers, "would have meant giving up a large revenue, and all effective power of controlling the internal consumption of opium. It would also have led, in all probabiltiy, to a great increase in the growth of poppy and the export of opium," in the same manner as has taken place in the case of indigo, and later in the case of tea, coffee, jute and tobacco, where European as well as native capital is free to seek investment.

It must also be remembered that at that time the export of opium to China was recognised and permitted by the Chinese Government, and was not declared to be contraband until ten years later. Even when the Chinese Emperor subsequently, in 1796, passed the edict prohibiting the import of opium, there was no reason for the Indian Government to change its position The annual export of Malwa opium exceeded that of Bengal, and over this it had, at that time, no control. To have suppressed the Bengal opium trade, besides inflicting an unjust wrong on all the opium cultivators, would merely have handed so much more of the trade over to the Malwa and

Persian drug. It is also a fact frequently overlooked, that this first prohibition of the import of opium, as is set forth in the Chinese edict in question, was not based on any moral grounds, but was intended to prevent the export of silver, in which payment for the opium was made.

The Company having now taken direct control of the purchasing agency, it soon became apparent that, to keep up the quality of the opium, it was necessary to prevent smuggling of opium of an inferior quality from Oudh and other foreign territory, and a law to that effect was passed in 1797, which also prohibited the cultivation of poppy except under licence. In 1799 the Calcutta Government went a step further, by limiting the cultivation of poppy to those districts where the quality was best, and the cultivation could be most easily watched, to prevent smuggling and illicit export. The cultivation was thus prohibited in Bengal proper, by refusing to give licences.

When, in 1801, we acquired the Doab and Rohilkand, and, in 1803, the remainder of the North-Western Provinces, the Bengal monopoly system was extended to those provinces also.

At this time the policy of the Bengal Government was to limit the production of opium, so as to obtain only the best quality that would command a high price. In this they were considerably hampered by the export of Malwa opium from the Bombay coast, over which they had no control. When, in 1818, after the Third Mahratta war, we obtained the whole of the Bombay Presidency, except Sindh, and also a protectorate over Rajputana, Central India and Nagpur, the Government at once took measures to prevent the competition of Malwa opium from injuring the Bengal trade.

They had already, in 1803, prohibited the export of Malwa opium from their Bombay ports, and in 1805 they attempted to prevent the poppy cultivation in such Bombay districts as then came under their control. But this was resisted by the Bombay Government, on the ground that the opium there produced was only for local consumption, in which view they were supported by the Directors in England.

When, however, in 1818, the Government obtained control of the entire coast, with the exception of Sindh, to which opium could be conveyed only by a long and expensive route, it attempted to create a monopoly of purchase in the Malwa opium similar to that in Bengal. But this attempt failed, as the cultivators demanded a higher price than the Company was prepared to give.

Consequently, between 1824 and 1826, treaties were made with several of the Native States, by which our agents purchased the opium in those States, and forwarded it mostly to Bombay, but also partly to Calcutta, while part was used for the excise opium of the Bombay Presidency.

This system, however, was found to lead to excessive smuggling and frequent affrays, and in 1830 it was abandoned, and the system of transit duty substituted which has since remained in force. By this system the opium is allowed to pass through British territory by certain fixed routes, on the payment of a transit duty. The amount of duty had at first to be fixed low, and varied between Rs. 125 and 175 per chest, so as not to make it more profitable to convey the opium by the longer route to Sindh. But when, in 1843, Sindh was annexed and Malwa opium was thenceforth unable to reach the coast, except through British territory, the duty was gradually raised, until in 1860 it was Rs. 600 per chest, and since that time it has varied between Rs. 600 and 700. Owing to the taxes imposed on it by means of high rates of land Revenue in the Native States in which it is grown, and transit and other taxes in the other Native States through which it may have to pass before it reaches British territory, the Revenue obtained from Malwa opium is much lower than that from the Bengal monopoly, and this, apart from other reasons, is a justification for keeping the transit duty as high as possible. To guard against smuggling to the coast for export, or into British territory for illicit consumption, Government has of late years made treaties with the Native States concerned.

Baroda is allowed to grow and export opium by sea on condition of strictly controlling the cultivation and manufacture by a State monopoly similar to ours. All the other States have agreed to prohibit cultivation, to prevent smuggling, and to use only Malwa opium for their internal consumption, making formal indent for the amount they require. All the States under the Bombay Government, and the Punjab, Hyderabad and Mysore, obtain Malwa opium for their excise consumption by indent in the above manner. This, then, is the position which the Government of India now occupies in respect of opium. It has created no new trade in opium and no new supply, and the result of every measure it has taken since it first became connected with the opium trade, when in 1773 the Company took over the Bengal monopoly which had previously existed in their territories, has been to restrict the production and outturn of opium.

Having thus seen the exact position which the Government of India occupies in respect of the growth of the poppy and manufacture of opium, and the successive stages by which it has reached its present state, it remains for us to consider, from a historical point of view, our relations with China in respect of the import of opium into that country.

Various early attempts were made by the London East India Company to open a trade with China, but without success, a result chiefly due to the hostility of the Portu-

guese, who had, as we have seen, a settlement at Macao, near Canton. From 1664, however, they succeeded in obtaining a certain amount of trade with Amoy. Subsequently Canton became the chief resort of British ships, and by the commencement of the eighteenth century, a fairly regular trade had been established there.

In 1702 the Emperor conferred the monopoly of all foreign trade at Canton on an individual called the Emperor's merchant, and he, in his turn, sublet his monopoly to certain companies of merchants, with whom all the foreign trade had to be carried on. This condition of things continued until after the war of 1840-42. In 1757 the Emperor passed an edict, forbidding Europeans from trading with any other port than Canton, and in 1759 the English factory at Ningpo was destroyed.

Although the greater part of the general trade of the country towards the end of the 18th century was in English hands, no attempt had been made to establish political relations between the English and Chinese Governments. Consequently, in 1792, an embassy was despatched under Lord Macartney, but it produced no practical results. Further negotiations were attempted in 1795 and 1803, but without affecting the difficulties with which the merchants had had to contend, and in 1807 an affray which took place at Canton between some sailors of the "Neptune" and the Chinese, led to further friction, and was followed by another of a similar nature in 1810 The Agents of the Company, or, as they were called, the "Supra Cargoes," used to reside at Canton only during the trading season, and then retire to the Portuguese settlement at Macao. The four Senior Supra Cargoes, called the Presidents, and the Select Committee, managed the transaction of business, and this continued until the Company lost its monopoly in 1834.

The first edict declaring opium contraband was issued in 1799, and the object of passing it was to prevent the export of silver from the country; but there is evidence to show that opium was treated as contraband before the edict was actually issued. The necessity for this edict arose from the fact that the Chinese recognised trade with foreigners by barter only, which was the method of carrying on the regular trade with the Company; but, opium being contraband, such traders as imported it could not dispose of it by open barter, and payment was made for it in silver.

On the issue of the above edict, the Select Committee requested the Governor-General of India to issue a peremptory order, forbidding opium being brought on board the Company's boats for China; but though such measures were

taken, the import of the drug by the Portuguese, over whom the Company had no control, continued unabated through their settlement at Macao, and the prohibition soon ceased to be enforced at Canton itself also.

In 1815 the Chinese issued a further edict against the opium trade, declaring that all ships at Macao were to be searched for contraband ; but the edict was never carried out, and it was probably intended chiefly to defend the local officials from responsibility.

To protect the China trade from the sudden interruptions it was subjected to by the caprices of the local Chinese officials, a Mission was despatched in 1816 under Lord Amherst. This, however, failed, owing either to the hostile influence of the Governor of Canton, or the refusal to comply with the Emperor's demand, that the Ambassador should perform the Kowtow ceremony of prostration.

About this time the opium trade again attracted notice, and in 1816 an edict was passed making the Chinese "Hong" merchants, as those making the trading monopoly were called, personally responsible for enforcing the prohibition against it, and with this object the searching of all foreign ships was ordered. The traders appealed to the Select Committee, who resolved to support their rights by preventing any search from being made. This action of the Committee had the effect of implicating the Company in the opium trade and in the smuggled export of silver to which it gave rise, and which was the real ground of objection to it on the part of the Chinese Government. The Board of Directors however, disapproved of the Committee's action, as they had no intention of allowing the trade in opium, carried on only by private traders over whom they had no control, to interfere with the Company's trade with China.

It is a significant fact, as showing the amount of sincerity to be attached to the edicts against the importation of opium, that the Chinese penal laws against the trade had never yet been enforced, and it would rather appear that such edicts were issued with the knowledge that their evasion would be a source of income through large bribes to the officials concerned. They cannot, in fact, be considered as having been founded on any moral considerations.

In 1821 the Chinese Government again took measures against the import of opium, by depriving the Senior Hong merchant of his button for supposed complicity in the trade. The merchants were threatened with severe punishment unless they assisted in suppressing the trade; and they appealed to the Select Committee to induce the traders to remove the opium ships from the port.

The measures taken, however, only had the effect of driving the trade from Canton to the Island of Lintin, from which place it was subsequently carried on from ships moored there, and known as the "opium receiving ships." The object of this further action against opium, as appears from the edict issued in the following year, was, as in the case of previous edicts, to prevent silver from leaving the country in payment for opium.

Other sources of friction continued to occur, arising out of various matters, such as the presence of a European lady at Canton, the right of Europeans to ride in sedan chairs, and the enclosing of a piece of land round the Company's factory, matters which appear trivial, but which the Chinese treated as of great importance. Collisions were constantly occurring between the Chinese, whose manner to all foreigners was insulting, and the private traders, whose behaviour was in many cases overbearing.

In 1834 the term of the Company's monopoly expired, and Government then appointed three Superintendents of the trade of British subjects with China. One of these was Lord Napier, and considerable opposition was offered to his coming to Canton without the special permission of the Emperor, who only allowed such foreigners as were merchants. Lord Napier's mission failed, as the Chinese would not treat him on terms of such equality as he considered were due to his official position, and they finally suspended all trade until he should withdraw from Canton. He consequently withdrew to Macao, where he subsequently died. He was succeeded by Mr. Davis; but the Chinese Governor still refused to recognise the Superintendents, or to allow them to live at Canton.

As an outcome of these strained relations, an edict was issued at the close of 1834, prohibiting the import of opium, and directing that all Chinese smuggling it were to be severely punished; but, as Mr. Davis pointed out, there was no reason to suppose that this edict was any less nugatory than similar edicts that had preceded it. The result of the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly was, that the illicit trade in opium largely increased, and in 1836 the value of the opium imported was 18,000,000, dollars.

In 1836, the Vice-President of the Chinese Sacrificial Court submitted a memorial to that Government, setting forth the evil which trade in opium was causing by leading to the drain of silver from the country, and proposing that, to remedy this, the trade should be legalised, a duty being imposed on it, so that the opium might be paid for by barter. The proposal was considered by the Emperor and his officials,

but was finally rejected, and in its place a fresh edict was issued in 1837 against the import of the drug.

Captain Elliott, who succeeded Mr. Davis, having agreed to superscribe his applications by the word "pin," or petition, was allowed to reside at Canton. As would appear from his report on the subject to Lord Palmerston, the real objection of the Chinese was not so much to the outside trade in opium at Lintin as to the trade there in tea, and to the mission for the distribution of tracts during the previous years to various places on the coast; and its real object thus was to restrict all trade to Canton itself.

In 1837 an edict was issued to Capt Elliott to order the removal of the opium-receiving ships that were moored outside Campsey Moon. To this he replied that he had no official knowledge of their existence, being only concerned with licit trade. In 1838, Huagtae Hong, one of the Hong merchants, having defaulted, and the Chinese Government having failed to liquidate his debts the matter was represented to the English Government, with a request that measures should be taken to induce the Chinese Government to carry out its guarantee. Sir Frederick Maitland was consequently despatched, and, after some friction at first, succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Governor and then returned.

In 1838 the Chinese Government again issued orders against the smuggling of opium, and threatened to destroy the house of a Mr. Innes, a merchant who had imported a consignment in an American ship, unless he left Canton. This he ultimately did. An attempt was also made to execute a Chinaman who had been concerned in the trade, in the square before the factories, but this the merchants resisted, and an injudicious treatment of the crowd on this occasion led to a disturbance which resulted in the merchants being driven into the factory. The mob was ultimately dispersed by Chinese soldiers. Further negociations followed, and, on Captain Elliott agreeing to issue a notice against the smuggling boats, the matter was brought to a conclusion.

In the following year, however, a Chinaman implicated in the trade was executed in front of the factory, and Lin, the Imperial High Commissioner, was deputed to take measures to stamp out the illicit opium trade. From the proclamation issued by him, it is clear that the objection to the opium traffic on this, as on every previous occasion, was, that it caused an export of silver from the country.

He directed that all opium stored in the ships anchored off Lintin should be given up, and that any foreigner subsequently taking part in the trade, should suffer the extreme penalty of the law; trade was stopped, and the European residents

were prevented from leaving Canton. Captain Elliott agreed to obtain all the opium in the possession of the merchants and give it up, on condition that all foreigners confined in Canton might be allowed to depart. This the Chinese Commissioner agreed to, and 20,283 chests were eventually delivered, it being supposed that the Chinese Government would remunerate the owners for this forcible confiscation. The Chinese Commissioner, however, did not carry out his part of the compact. Bonds were required from Captain Elliott and the merchants that they would be personally liable to death in case any of their countrymen should henceforth smuggle opium; and that any ship on which any smuggled opium might be found, should be at once confiscated to the Chinese Government, together with the whole of its cargo. Both these conditions were manifestly impossible to comply with, and, in justice, only the individuals concerned in the smuggling could be liable to penalty. The merchants were willing to sign bonds, pledging themselves individually; but this was not agreed to. At the same time a strong palisade was constructed round the factory and armed men were posted at the only exits.

As soon as the delivery of the opium chests was completed at Lintin, Captain Elliott was allowed to leave Canton, and with him the British merchants withdrew to Macao. At the same time the principal firms submitted a memorial to the English Government, praying that measures might be taken to ensure their compensation for the opium that had been surrendered, and asserting that, although the trade had been nominally contraband, it had hitherto been tacitly acquiesed in, and opium had even been supplied to the boats of the Governor himself and other high officials. The House of Commons had also recognised the trade in the report of its Select Committee in 1830, and in the subsequent report in 1832.

General trade was not suspended. British ships remained outside the port, and the Americans who had executed the bonds required by the Chinese Government remained at Canton and undertook the carrying trade, both of British goods and of China produce, between that place and Hong-Kong.

At this time matters were further complicated by an affray which took place in a drunken brawl between some English and American sailors and some Chinese, in which one of the latter was killed. The Chinese officials demanded that the murderer should be given up, but Captain Elliott was unable to comply with this demand, as, although he tried and punished those who were concerned in the riot, he was unable to ascertain who the actual murderer was. The Chinese consequently ordered the English to withdraw from Macao, and, on their withdrawing to Hong-Kong, issued an edict forbidding any one to supply

them with food. As this edict meant starvation, they were obliged to draw supplies from the mainland; and, as they were returning, an encounter took place with some Chinese war junks.

Further negociations were then opened, and three conditions were demanded by the Chinese—

(1.) That all opium in the ships which had arrived at Hong-Kong should be given up.

(2.) That the murderer of the Chinaman, Lin Weihe, should be given up.

(3.) That opium-receiving ships should be removed beyond the great Ladrone; and that any of the sixteen persons banished from China for having been concerned in the opiun trade, who had not already left the country, should do so at once.

To the first and last of these conditions Captain Elliott agreed, but the second he was unable to comply with, as the murderer of Lin Weihe could not be discovered, though trial had been held, besides which many of those concerned were Americans over whom Captain Elliott had no control.

On this point it is clear that the Chinese officials would have been satisfied with any innocent person being sacrificed to save their dignity, and "repeated suggestions were made during the negociations that the Hong merchants should be allowed to persuade some lascar, or to purchase some Macao slave to personate the offender."

On the 27th October 1839, the Chinese Commissioner issued an order which was practically a declaration of war, and on the 2nd November the Chinese fleet sailed out against the English vessels anchored below Chuenpee. Even then the Admiral agreed to withdraw if any one man were given up as the murderer of Lin Weihe. It was, however, again pointed out that this was impossible, and an engagement took place.

It is not necessary for the present subject to review subsequent events, or the course of the war, which terminated in 1842. The object of reviewing the foregoing events has been to show that the war was not, as is sometimes stated, a war to compel the Chinese to take opium against their will. The opium trade was, no doubt, its immediate cause; but, had the Chinese been less violent and aggressive, the war might have been averted, and the first outbreak of hostilities was, as has been seen, due to the refusal to comply with a demand that an innocent person should be given up for execution as a murderer—a demand which was rightly refused. The feeling of hostility towards the foreigners was also due to other causes than the sole one of the export of opium, such as bringing foreign women into Canton, riding in sedan chairs, distributing religious tracts, and employing native servants, all of which the Chinese regarded as serious offences. Moreover, the

constant friction that was occurring through the Select Committee, and subsequently the superintendents, trying to communicate with the Chinese officials on terms other than those of servility, increased the irritation against the outer barbarians. The changed conditions which resulted from the termination of the Company's monopoly in 1830, and the acceptance of Free Trade, made it inevitable that the smuggling trade in opium would increase, as, owing to the refusal of the Chinese to enter into diplomatic relations with our Government, which would have given our representative authority to prevent the trade and punish the offenders, it was impossible to suppress it. Moreover, the Chinese people and the Mandarins were as much responsible for the smuggling as the foreign traders.

In the Treaty and Tariff Negociations of 1842, which followed the war, the Chinese Government did not ask that the import of opium might be prohibited, and there was no provision regarding the trade, which continued to be contraband as before. Nor did the English Government press them to legalise it.

From 1843 to 1856 the contraband opium trade went on quietly, but the Chinese officials felt their pride hurt by the war, and still objected to the export of silver which the opium trade, being contraband, involved. These strained relations led to a second war in 1857, the immediate cause of which was the seizure of a Chinese boat, flying the English flag.

This war terminated in 1858, and the Treaty in this case also made no reference to opium, though it conceded to us extended diplomatic and commercial relations, and permission to reside and travel in the interior.

When the new Tariff came to be drafted, the Chinese, of their own accord, included opium amongst the articles contained in it, fixing an import duty of 30 taels a chest, and in this way the opium trade was legalised. The import duty on it was double that on other articles, and the "likin," or internal duty, was not allowed to be commuted.

The war of 1860 was in no way connected with opium, but was on our part to enforce the clause of the Treaty of 1858 that provided for our envoy going to Pekin, and on the part of the French, who joined with us, was to enforce satisfaction for the murder of a missionary.

The negociations of Sir T. Wade in 1881 show that the Chinese Government had no longer any wish to prohibit the import of opium, but rather looked upon it as a source of Revenue; and, even if the foreign supply were cut off, it would not materially affect the consumption, since, as appeared from Mr. Spence's report of 1892, South-West China alone annually produces 224,000 chests, while 100,000 chests is the largest

quantity of Indian and Persian opium, combined, ever imported in one year.

The great growth of the demand for opium in China is due to the extension of the opium habit, and that habit was fostered from the eighteenth century, and at a time when only a small portion of the opium import was under our control. Previously to 1818 the Indian Government could not have prevented the export of Indian opium, as it had not the control of the West Coast, and they could not have entirely prevented it until 1843, when we obtained possession of Sindh. Moreover, if the production of opium had been prohibited, a very large class of cultivators, throughout the country, who depended on the poppy crop, would have been thrown out of employment, and lost that means of subsistence, and widespread discontent would have consequently been created, especially in the Native states which had only recently come under our influence, and might have led to serious results. If, again, the Indian supply had been cut off, the greater demand would have merely led to increased production in Persia, and in the province of China itself. The objections of the Chinese to the trade, too, as has been shown, were chiefly on economic grounds; and, had there been any moral disapproval of it, it is not to be supposed that the officials would have connived at it in the manner they did.

There is no doubt that the Chinese people object far more to the privilege enjoyed by the missionaries of residing and preaching in the interior—a privilege which has been obtained by war—than they do to the import of opium, a drug which they also produce and manufacture in their own country.

E. H. WALSH.

ART. V.—SOME PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY INDIA.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION).

I.

POSTERITY will look back upon the latter half of the nineteenth century as a period unusually rich in historical events of world-wide importance. In the Far West the United States of America entered upon a new stage of its career with the conclusion of the civil war that abolished slavery and knit the States together into a firmer federation than of old. The Far East also witnessed the beginning of a memorable revolution almost at the same time. Japan overthrew the Shogunate in 1869, and, slipping off the chains of her past by a sudden effort, set herself to assimilate modern civilization with a rapidity and thoroughness absolutely without parallel. In the course of a single generation she has had her reward. Her brilliant successes in the war with China are too recent to require any mention, and she has emerged out of it the strongest power of the Pacific Ocean. While all the other kingdoms of Asia are crumbling around her, destined soon to gratify the earth-hunger of the European, she alone stands secure in her strength, mistress of her own future. The period lying between these two occurrences has been also signalized by momentous changes in Europe. Italy has passed from being merely a geographical expression into an independent united kingdom with the Eternal City for its capital, the Papacy has been deprived of temporal power, and the long-suffering German people have found at last a fitting embodiment of their common nationality in the Imperial creation of Bismarck and William I. Nor is this all. While great events have been accomplished, the train has also been laid for others which are hurrying on to their ultimate fulfilment. Thus, if we look to Asia, China, that was such a mighty power in the days of Marco Polo, is now brought so low that she is in danger of being altogether wiped out if she succeed not in improving what is very probably her last chance of setting her house in order If we turn to Europe, Turkey, the terror of Christendom up to the reign of Suleman the Magnificent, has receded so far from the line of the Save, the Pruth, and the Carpathians that was her northern frontier in the early years of the century, that her greatest breadth at present extends hardly over two parallels of latitude. Altogether, it appears as if the epoch which opened with the discovery of America were drawing to

a close, and the world were on the eve of some new departure, big with the fate of centuries yet inscrutable to human penetration.

India, too, started on the Modern Age of her history about the same time as Europe. It has been recently remarked that movements had then set in within her not unlike the Renascence and the Reformation; but the analogy may be extended further There was also a tendency towards the rise of nations, and their consolidation into energetic monarchies, as in Europe. This is illustrated by the history of the Marathas and of the Sikhs. But the points of difference between the circumstances of the two Continents, and the progress of events in each are far more numerous and significant than these points of resemblance. In Europe it was a whole political system that grew up simultaneously; and hence, when any one of its members became so powerful as to endanger the existence of the rest, as was the case first with Spain and subsequently with France, it met with a determined opposition which subsided only with the attainment of its object. But India was centuries behind Europe in several important respects. In not a few of its countries, it appears, the population was still in a state of flux; large masses of people were moving backwards and forwards, and had not yet settled down in the provinces with which we now identify them; and the original impulse to this vast movement, which was strongest in Upper India, but occasionally reached the ends of the Peninsula, probably came from the stream of immigration that kept pouring through the passes on the north-west, almost to the middle of the eighteenth century. Again, the semi-feudal organization of the country for purposes of defence, which had originated with the Rajput, had broken down, through one cause or another, and no substitute had arisen in its place. No wonder that the Grand Moghul overshadowed the land as the representative of mere discipline, until representatives of nationality appeared in the persons of Bàjirào, the Maratha, and Surajmal, the Jàt. In the meanwhile, however, the new element which Vasco de Gama had introduced on the scene along the ocean highway had been pursuing a history of its own, and the struggles of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England, both in the East and in their own Continent, had resulted in a victory for the last, who had secured a firm foothold in three corners of India, and an absolute mastery of the seas. The wars between the English and the French in the Carnatic, and the repeated reverses of Mir Cassim in Bengal, agitated India from end to end, and princes, generals, and adventurers set themselves to learn and utilize this novel art of war which carried all before it. Chandà Sàheb, Sadàshivrào Bhàu,

Nizam Ali, Raghunàthrào, Mahàdji Shindè, Haidar Ali, and Ranjit Sing are only the best known of the many men who made the attempt, but neither Maratha, nor Mahomedan, nor Sikh, acquired a thorough mastery over it, and the inevitable consequence was that the weapon snapped in the hands of each as it came to his turn to wield it against the foreigner. Thus it was that the whole of India, from Attak Banàras to Kanyà Kumàri fell an easy prey to England ; and the transfer of this colossal conquest from the East India Company to the Crown rounded off an eventful period of over three centuries.

Here, as elsewhere, then, the passing half century is preparing a new order of things which promises in many ways to be entirely different from the old. We are at present living through an era of peace and prosperity, and absolute immunity from foreign invasion, and equality before the law, and steady growth of civilization such as our unfortunate country has never known before in historical times. Looked at in itself and without any reference to the future, it is without doubt a happy era, during which (if I may say so) the internal physiological processes are incessantly active, while the body as a whole is enjoying unprecedented repose ; an era of calm such as nations long for during the storms of their voyage, or cherish in their memory with many a regret after they have left it behind. But it is our duty as citizens also to study the present with regard to the tendencies, good and evil, which may be gathering strength around us, and to watch with particular attention those among them which appear fraught with peril to us in the future, in order that we may be able, if possible, to counteract them before it is too late. It is my purpose in the present essay to isolate some of these later tendencies and offer a few reflections in connection with each.

II.

The first of these tendencies which I select for comment is the gradual deterioration in physique that is perceptible in not a few of the races which inhabit this vast peninsula. It is the current opinion that the cause of this deterioration is to be sought in infant marriage and other social practices which prevail amongst us to so great an extent. But I am persuaded that this view considerably exaggerates the influence of such practices. For they were in existence in equal, if not greater force, in the eighteenth century, nor were they newly introduced at that period. Yet the men of those days were certainly stronger than we are. It was, of course, a time of rapine, bloodshed, and anarchy, when, in large tracts, society had returned to a state of nature, and, in the expressive phrase of Hobbes, "man to man was a wolf." But it was

also a time when a large proportion of the grown-up population followed the profession of soldiers and lived in the saddle, or under arms the greater part of the year. Again, some hold that our ways of life are getting luxurious and detrimental to bodily vigour, and they add, with respect to the higher classes, that the increasing pressure of population is producing a keenness in the competition for respectable livelihood which tells on the constitution. There is, doubtless, a large element of truth in this account of the matter Nevertheless, it seems, to me indubitable that the main cause of our rapid physical degeneration lies in the total disarmament of the country which was carried out after the Mutiny. Of the great political urgency of the step at the time it was taken, there cannot be two opinions. But its indirect effects have been highly detrimental to a people never given to athletics for its own sake. A more or less desultory effort is now being made to encourage cricket and other out-door exercises at school and college. But such tastes are hard to create and will not extend widely for a long time to come. It would clearly be a far better plan to bestow the privilege of volunteering on the better class of Indians. If a not very high standard of physical fitness were laid down as a condition of obtaining such a privilege, many who now fall below that standard would strive to reach it in order to become volunteers ; and those who had reached it already, would rise above it through the regular training they would receive as volunteers. The requirements might be raised a little every few years, and thus a single generation would suffice to effect considerable improvement, if we began at a sufficiently low level, in order to secure the benefit of training to a large number from the commencement.

And from other points of view also the enrolment of such men as could be relied on into a volunteer army appears to be one of the needs of our time. For, look at our frontiers. I am not one of those who nervously apprehend a Russian invasion every time the *Novoe Vremya* chooses to pen a defiant article against England. On the contrary, I quite admit the soundness of the opinion expressed some years since by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Curzon, in his *Persia and the Persian Question*, that, "as the Parthian retreated fighting with his eye turned backward, the Russian advances fighting with his mind's eye turned in the same direction. His object is not Calcutta, but Constantinople ; not the Ganges but the Golden Horn. He believes that the keys of the Bosphorus are more likely to be won on the banks of the Helmund than on the heights of Plevna. To keep England quiet in Europe by keeping her employed in Asia, that, briefly put, is the sum and substance

of Russian policy." Now, if that was a true analysis of the political situation six years ago, there can be no doubt that very recent events have added immensely to its force. For it is not European Turkey alone that Russia now wishes to absorb, but also the northern half of the Chinese Empire.* We may, therefore, bring Mr. Curzon up to date by saying that *to keep England quiet in the Far East, as well as in Europe, by keeping her employed in the north-west of India, that, briefly put, is the sum and substance of Russian policy.* But let us note well all that is implied in this sentence. It means that, although Russia does not really want India, she will yet repeatedly act as if she did so, in order to bully England into submission towards her European and Far Eastern policy. And she will have greater opportunities of doing so the nearer she approaches to our frontier. But there is only a single effectual way of meeting a blustering policy of this sort. We need, then, a really large army such as would amply suffice for purposes of self-defence. Moreover, it is no longer only Russia whom we must take into account. Another European Power approaches us both from the east and from the west. Siam alone separates us from France on the east, and neither the physical features of the country, nor the qualities of its inhabitants, would enable us to turn it into another Afghanistan. On the west she will soon possess a firm foothold, and a large base of operations in Madagascar, the position of which appears to be of very great strategical importance. Above all, it is of the highest moment that the Power which thus threatens India along the Burmese frontier and in the Arabian Sea is France and none other. For the whole course of their history shows that the French are a confident, ambitious people, who love to keep several large policies floating before their eyes at the same time, and enter upon more than one undertaking all at once, without considering their ability to prosecute any of them to the end. It is generally thought that France sides with Russia only to secure an ally in her inevitable war with Germany for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine, and that she has no interest of her own to subserve in Asia.

* Out of fairness to Russia I ought to say, as Sir. A. Lyall has recently suggested, that Russia's present activity in the Far East may be merely due to a desire to develop and colonize Siberia, and that it is not at all necessary to assume her anxious to extend her frontiers at the expense of China beyond what may be absolutely unavoidable in pursuance of such a purpose. But this does not affect my argument. However peaceful and legitimate Russia's ultimate object may be, it is enough for me to notice that the measures she chooses to adopt in the Far East are very aggressive indeed, and that the British Empire cannot be indifferent to the future of that quarter of the Globe, where it has considerable interests at stake.

I hope it may prove so, but the French have a long memory, and they have not yet forgotten how near they were to the acquisition of an Indian Empire, while their grudge against England about Egypt is very recent.

To be plain, the vicinity of France appears to me as great a danger to the peace of India as that of Russia. The position of India, therefore, approximates more and more to that of the Continental States which are armed to the teeth, and she must augment her troops considerably at no distant date. But to go on adding to the numbers of the British soldier is impossible because of the prohibitive cost, while the ordinary native army cannot be multiplied with safety, except only in a certain ratio to the British army.* We have thus only a volunteer army to fall back upon, which would be drawn from classes of society that could be relied on for loyalty.

One of the incidental advantages of such an army would be, that it would educate native public opinion to look at matters from a military point of view, which it so egregiously fails to do at present. I know it is the fashion in certain quarters to laugh at the very idea of a volunteer force of natives. I am aware that not a few military men would regard a Babu soldier, for instance, as a superlative Irish bull. But I would patiently ask them whether they consider any race as unfit by nature to bear arms. Does one race possess an inherent superiority over another as regards military efficiency? Has any race been born only to be necessarily beaten by another? Why, the question is preposterous. If we take two races just as they are at any moment, no doubt one of them often shows at a great advantage. But the difference between the two is not a matter of natural gifts at all. Give the other a sufficient course of training, and it will end by surpassing the first at its own weapons. Military prowess is after all a matter of drill,† and, on the whole, this is as it should be. For, as

* In his article on *Indian Frontiers and Indian Finance* in the November number of the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir Auckland Colvin remarks that "in proportion as we augment native forces must we continue to augment the strength of our British soldiers. That is for us, 'articulus stantis aut cadentis *imperii*.'" But with due deference to the opinion of so high an authority, I venture to say that that is *not* the point on which the British Empire must stand or fall, at least until the expedient of a volunteer army, such as I have suggested above, has been tried and actually found wanting.

† Cf. the following from Carlyle, *Past and Present*, p. 225:—"It is incalculable what, by arranging, commanding, and regimenting, you can make of men. These thousand straight-standing firmset individuals, who shoulder arms, who march, wheel, advance, retreat; and are for your behoof a magazine charged with fiery death, in the most perfect condition of potential activity; few months ago, till the persuasive sergeant came, what were they multiform ragged losels, runway apprentices, starved

Arnold puts it in his *Introductory Lectures on Modern History*, "judging calmly, we would not surely wish that one nation should be uniformly and inevitably superior to another; I do not know what national virtue could safely be subjected to so severe a temptation." And if a race like the Bengalis appears to be exceptionally deficient at starting in the qualities that go to make a gallant soldier, there is all the more reason for beginning to drill it at the earliest possible moment.

But it may be further objected to my scheme that, though the lower uneducated classes of the native population can hardly be trusted, the richer and more influential educated classes can be trusted still less; to provide them with arms and train them up into soldiers, would be an act of suicide on the part of the Government of India. I have raised this question so distinctly because it must be faced sooner or later. Can those who entertain such an opinion support it on any facts or reasons? I am totally ignorant of their having anything to go upon besides their bare ungenerous suspicion. And as to that, one can only answer, that confidence begets confidence. Further, I do not hesitate to accept the apophthegm of Bismarck, that nations and empires are built up and welded together by blood and iron. India will learn true loyalty to England on the battle-fields and on the seas where her own blood has mingled with that of her mistress in mutual defence. But, at the risk of being thought cynical, I must add that, in the case of India, the blood shed must be high caste blood in order to stir her sympathies and kindle her imagination.

III

Many of those who would reject, for one reason or another, my foregoing suggestion of a volunteer force, composed of high class Indians, would still admit the necessity of a large increase in our army at no distant date. But how can a poor country like India, when even her present taxtion is almost too great a burden for her, sustain so enormous an extra load by herself?

This leads me to the second head of my essay, and opens a question which is, indeed, sufficiently serious even when we consider it without any reference to the army. The financial and economical problem of modern India may be dealt with under two aspects: First, it may considered in relation to the necessary requirements of the Government. With

weavers, thievish valets; an entirely broken population, fast tending towards the treadmill. But the persuasive sergeant came; by tap of drum enlisted, or formed lists of them, took heartily to drilling them;—and he and you have made them this!"

respect to this, however, I will here content myself with saying that we have in India the anomaly of a country whose wealth is as yet mainly agricultural, and therefore extremely limited, ruled over by the costly apparatus of a modern civilized government. Such a government must soon find it difficult to make both ends meet, even if it had to provide only for itself, and the Government of India has to provide for many other things besides. But, secondly, let me look at the question rather from the point of view of the subjects. I will not here either repeat or examine the arguments which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been advancing for years to show that the country is getting impoverished. Nor will I enter into the intricate inquiry whether, and how far population in India is outgrowing the means of subsistence. I will only incidentally remark in this connection that, even if we agree in regarding the growth of our towns as on the whole a good sign, it certainly remains to be further asked whether it actually represents a gradual decrease in the burden on the land by being greater than the growth of our rural population. But, as it happens, there is no difference of opinion among competent judges on this point. Mr. M. G. Ranade, for instance, notices, in his lecture on *Some Indian Aspects of Political Economy*, that "the progress of ruralization in modern India means its rustication, *i.e.* a loss of power, and intelligence, and self-dependance, and is a distinctly retrograde move. The growth of the seaports, and of small military and railway stations, is not enough to counterbalance the enormous loss that has been inflicted by this retrograde movement. Every class of artizans, the weavers and spinners, the dyers, the oilsmen, the paper-makers, the silk and sugar and metal workers, &c, who are unable to bear up against western competition, resort to the land, leave the towns and go into the country, and are lost in the mass of helpless people who are unable to bear up against scarcity and famine." In his *Hindu Civilization under British Rule*, Mr. P. N. Bose has the same story to tell of large flourishing communities of artizans being broken up, and the individuals having to seek their livelihood as thay can as agriculturists and labourers. He concludes that "the time is not far distant when the land will fail to meet the enhanced demand upon it, unless its food-growing capacity increases. That with improved methods this capacity will, to some extent, increase, there can be no doubt. But the present prospect is not very cheering." Mr. J. A. Baines, the Census Commissioner for India, puts these facts into a convenient, mathematical form when he observes that, while the annual rate of increase that prevailed during the decade preceding the last Census is 9·3 per mille, "the urban population has increased on the whole at a rate less by 1½ per cent. than that of the population at

large." Since, however, I have referred to his opinion, I should also add that his general conclusions are much more optimistic than one might expect. He thinks that "we have every reason to assume that the present rate of increase amongst the people of India is well within their means of subsistence. If maintained, which, of course, it will not be, it would be seventy-five years before the population doubled itself, and the problem of their support would then, no doubt, be a hard one for our successors."

But I will confine myself in this paper to what can be grasped by plain common sense and does not require any statistics. Recollect, then, that, in the period preceding the British era, a large number of people killed one another every year in war; a large number died unnatural deaths at the hands of thugs, highway men, and other enemies of society; a large number succumbed to cholera, small-pox, malarial fever, and other diseases, which had made considerable tracts of the country their constant haunts, and, of the survivors, hundreds of thousands were carried off every few years by periodical famines and plagues. These messengers of death have all very nearly disappeared from modern India, and so far, we have made a great advance upon the last century. But good and evil happen to be so curiously blended in this world, that what appears very satisfactory on one side turns out somewhat questionable when we examine the other side. For these and other blessings have co-operated to generate what is undoubtedly another blessing under certain circumstances, but not so under all, *viz.*, a colossal increase of population. Now, it is a law of physical multiplication applicable to plants and animals no less than to human beings, that, the more diverse the forms of life, the larger the total aggregate of life that can be supported on a given area. When carried over to the sphere of economics, this means that a merely agricultural country cannot possibly support so large a population as one which is both industrial and agricultural. Or we may consider the subject from a somewhat different stand-point. Let us leave it an open question whether the country is being enriched or impoverished on the whole. But who can deny that we are becoming civilized and multiplying our needs? What is only a luxury to-day becomes, in a decade, a necessary of life. Does the growth of our wealth, even if there be any, keep pace with the rise in our standard of living? But, if we lean on land alone, as we do now, our numbers have reached, or will soon reach, the maximum capable of being supported by it, and then we must forego either a further growth in civilization or a further increase of population. Look at the matter any way you please, a steady effort must soon be commenced, on a comprehensive

scale, to develop the vast resouces of this country and plant industries and manufactures. Can this task be left to individual enterprise?

An agricultural country has never passed, and never will pass, into a manufacturing country by unaided individual effort in the face of the world's competition. The case of the Bombay mill industry is only the exception that proves the rule. England chooses now to profess the doctrine of free trade, but that is because she chooses to kick away the ladder by means of which she herself, like every other European country, has risen. An ample and well-digested policy of protection is what India has been needing for some time. Leaders of native opinion like Mr. Justice Ranade have been saying so for years. And, what is more, some of the ablest Members of the Civil Service—men like the late Sir Maxwell Melvill, and Mr. S. Laing, and Mr. H. J. S Cotton*—have been of the same opinion. Such a policy would empower us to go on augmenting our civilization, and increasing our population at the same time. It would also place the Government in a stable financial position, and enable it, moreover, to add to our military defences whenever necessary. But, before I leave the subject, let me draw a capital distinction. The policy of protection that I would recommend is emphatically not such as would exclusively concern itself with the interests of India. No; India is an integral part of the British Empire, and to ignore this would be to commit over again the sin of disloyalty of which—to take no later instances from within the Empire—the colonies of North America were guilty in the eighteenth century. The policy of protection should cover all divisions of the British Empire alike in its golden web, so that the life-blood of commerce might circulate through all of them and ever make them more akin to one another. This is what Disraeli meant to achieve all his life, but found the English people too indifferent and too misguided to listen to him. But the Conservative Party at least has the merit of continuity. For this is exactly what the Right Honorable Mr. Balfour avowed to his Lancashire constituents in one of his electoral speeches during the last general election. "We have (he said) no more right to say that India is to be governed absolutely and solely with a view to Indian interests, than we

* For Sir M. Melvill, *see* Sir W. W. Hunter's *Bombay, 1885-90; A Study in Indian Administration*; for Mr. Laing, some time Financial Minister to the Government of India, *see* his *Modern Zoroastrian*; for Mr. Cotton, *see* his *Lecture on Technical Education at the Bethune Society* (Calcutta). Mr. Bose also advocates a protective tariff, technical education, and joint-stock organisation in the work from which I have quoted above. And his opinion is especially valuable as it is based on a careful review of the present condition of the various classes which form the bulk of our population, *viz.*, the cultivators, the labourers, the artisans, and the middle class.

have to say that England is to be governed solely with a view to English interests. We belong, I believe, to one empire. We form, I believe, one system. Long may we continue to do so. But the essence of one system is, that the parts of that system are mutually interdependent, and it is not statesmanship to say that you ought to consider the interests of one in absolute isolation from the interests of another. No. The doctrine I preach is that we have to consider the Empire as a whole, we have to govern the whole for the good of the whole, and it is only by looking at it as a whole, that we shall be able to judge of what is the sound policy that ought to be pursued." In a word, the financial salvation of India, as also the best interests of the world-embracing British Empire, require, that we should return, as soon as possible, to the time-honoured principles of the mercantile system. We have partly done so already by rejecting the superstition of unlimited freedom of competition as between labour and capital. We have now to cast out the fetish venerated by the Manchester school under the fancy name of freedom of trade.

IV.

I will now turn to one or two of the deeper social and intellectual problems which are rising to the surface in contemporary India. And, to begin with one which has not yet assumed considerable dimensions, I will ask you to form some estimate of the rapidity with which the Eurasian and the Native Christian are multiplying in numbers and increasing in importance. While the Brahmo Somaj numbered 3,400 members in 1891, and the Arya Somaj 40,000, the Christians numbered nearly twenty-three lakhs and outnumbered the Sikhs by over three lakhs. Much more striking than this increase is the rate at which it is proceeding. While the increase of the total population of 1891 over that of 1881 is under eleven per cent., that of the Eurasians and Christians is twenty-one per cent. While the increase of the total population of 1881, over that of 1872, was under six-and-a-half per cent., that of the Eurasians and Christians was over twenty per cent. A devout Protestant Missionary calculates that the Protestant Church would absorb the whole population of India about the middle of the twenty-first century, *i.e.*, only a hundred and fifty years hence. That is, of course, an over-sanguine estimate, for this reason, if for no other, that the Protestant gentleman forgot to take the influence of the Roman Catholic Church into consideration, and in spite of the fact that out of the total number of Christians in India, only a little over thirty-three per cent. belong to the various denominations of the Reformed Church.

Let us look next at the position and power they are acquiring. The Director of Public Instruction, Madras, who certainly could not have erred through excess of religious zeal, put it into one of his recent official reports that, if the Native Christian Community of Madras pursued with steadiness its present educational policy, in the course of a generation it would have secured a preponderating position in all the principal professions, and probably, too, in the industrial enterprise of the Presidency. Similarly, Mr. H. A. Stuart, the Census Commissioner for Madras, notices that "in the matter of education, or, at least, elementary education, the Eurasians are more advanced than any other class of the community, and compare favourably with the population of any country in the world." And it would be a mistake to suppose that Madras stands alone in this respect. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, for instance, we find that among the Christians there are 7,376 literate males to every 10,000. If, again, we want to ascertain their position in India as a whole, we have only to turn to the return of servants of the Government of India, furnished to the House of Commons in 1886, which tells us that on the last day of the month of March, there were of Indian and Eurasian Government servants drawing an annual salary ranging from 1,000 to 30,000 rupees, 7,948 and 3,736 respectively. That is to say, while the Indians are so much more numerous than the Eurasians, the number of Indian servants of Government drawing a decent pay is only a little more than double the number of the Eurasian servants. And even these figures exhibit the Natives as far better off than they really are; for, out of the total number of 7,948 Natives just given, as many as 6,915 draw only an annual salary of from 1,000 to 2,500 rupees. I do not at all wish to imply that any unfair preference is shown towards the Eurasians by the Government as such. Outside Government service, however, even this is not unusual, as may be seen from the fact that some Railway Companies take none but Eurasians into their employment, except for very inferior posts. Lastly, a volunteer force composed of Eurasians is fast rising into being.

Now, in gauging the significance of these facts, I wish particularly to avoid sitting in judgment on Christianity as a religion. Whether as a spiritual doctrine, or as a source of moral teaching, or as a social bond, or as a civilizing agency, it is superior or otherwise to Hinduism or Islam, is not the question that concerns me at the present moment. Only one question is pertinent from my point of view, and it is a question which is answered as soon as it is asked. Can we, humanly speaking, expect the whole of India to become Christian, by

peaceful and legitimate means, within any measurable period of time? An India transformed to that extent cannot but be inconceivable to any one who knows the country, and does not look at it through the spectacles of faith. The utmost one can imagine as possible is the rise of Christianity in India, at some distant future, to a position of equality with the two leading religions of the land, Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Would such a result, however, be desirable? Some leading members of the Indian Civil Service speak and write and act as if there could not be two opinions on the matter. But to me it seems indubitable that, whenever the Eurasians and Native Christians might grow up into a strong community alongside of the Hindus and the Mahomedans on the soil of India, it would be an event fraught with some danger to the State. Many a recent occurrence has given a wholesome shock to some of our illusions, and we regretfully accommodate ourselves to the hitherto unsuspected fact that comity between the Hindus and the Mahomedans is yet an ideal to be reached at some future date, rather than a goal already left behind. And yet the Hindus and the Mahomedans have been living together and fraternizing in many ways for so many generations, while the Eurasian and the Native Christian would not only be a comparatively new community, but it would also inevitably assail some of the deepest prejudices of the other two. Fortunately, however, the problem is as yet only in the germ, and it would not be impossible to arrest its further development before it is too late. For, although the rate at which the Christians are increasing is rapid, and they are beginning to acquire an importance out of all proportion to their numerical strength, we must notice, on the other hand, that so far they are merely a drop in the ocean of Indian population, being only in the ratio of eight per thousand. And it is also a very hopeful sign that competent judges are gradually beginning to realize, like Mr. G. R. C. Williams, for instance, that "the exertions of the missionaries will probably bring Government face to face with a very serious social problem before many years are over."

V

I proceed to consider a problem of an essentially less intractable type, though of a somewhat greater importance in the immediate present. It appears to me impossible to doubt that Educated India is distinctly republican in its political leanings. One would have thought that the Indian, brought into a living sympathy with political conceptions and institutions through his English culture, and through a more or less intimate contact with English political life—and yet not drawn into the vortex of

that life—gifted by nature as he is with a speculative bias, would be just the person to lift himself above the strife of parties, and judge European affairs from a detached, impartial, objective point of view, surveying principles according to their essential worth, persons according to their character and achievements, events according to their necessary consequences, dealing out one measure to all, and making an honest effort to dissever the good and the evil inevitably mixed up with all. This was not an unreasonable expectation, but if it is to be justified at all, it must be at some future time, since the present has so entirely disappointed it. The influence of an energetic, vivifying personality may explain a good deal, and I am inclined to attribute the radicalism of Young India largely to the teaching of Mr. A. O. Hume. Yet, surely his apt disciples might have paused a little, and inquired for themselves how representative institutions had fared in the West, how much of the success that appeared owing to them was really due to extraneous circumstances, and how far the condition of any particular country of the West was analogous to that of India, so that there could be a reasonable probability of the success of institutions here which had succeeded there.

The most superficial consideration of these questions would have sufficed to tell them that what they were wishing to import, under the belief that it was gold, was in reality paper currency of a very dubious character after all. For, supposing that representative institutions have succeeded in the United States of America, the example and experience of that country are absolutely of no avail to any other country in the world. America stands unique in three respects of prime importance. She is perfectly safe, and free as the wind to arrange her internal affairs in any way she likes, having no enemy to fear, and no foreign policy to pursue. Secondly, her only financial problem is not how to procure sufficient money, but how to spend sufficient money, the proceeds of her protective tariff being more than enough to meet all regular needs. Thirdly, she is a new country where the stratification of the people into classes and orders is yet in the germ. No constitution, however fantastically contrived, would fail in such a country. The pressure of financial difficulties and military exigencies, and the continuous political and social readjustment of the various classes of their population, are the most frequent ordeals which old-world countries have to pass through; but they are as good as non-existent for America, and the success of any constitution there furnishes no presumption in favour of its excellence. We may say that, from the point of view of politics, America has not yet attained to years of discretion, and her action has no teaching to offer to grown-up people, though

it might reasonably excite a certain amount of curiosity, and hope or concern. Or, to vary the image, America is like a pampered domestic pet, all whose needs of shelter and subsistence are duly provided for, and all the internal contradictions of whose nature are carefully kept in abeyance; how can its way of life afford a safe model to copy for the wild birds and animals who have to live as they can in the thick of a keen struggle for existence?

If, then, we turn from "that most favoured of all lands that have no government" to Spain and the Spanish colonies of South America, we find that representative institutions have failed there most ignominiously, succeeding only in keeping those countries in a state of chronic revolution. As Sir Henry Maine has remarked, "since the century during which the Roman Emperors were at the mercy of the Prætorian soldiery, there has been no such insecurity of Government as the world has seen since rulers became delegates of the community." But I will not try to prove too much, and am ready to admit that the failure of popular government in these countries might not be due to any inherent defect in it, since they all possess large citizen armies, and where that is the case it is generally difficult for any form of government to keep its head erect for long, except a despotism. Is it, then, the history of France after the Revolution that reveals the virtues of this form of constitution? If it does anything of the kind, it must show, to an equal extent, the virtues of absolute monarchy, since France has oscillated between them with a curious impartiality. What French history teaches, however, in an unmistakeable manner, is merely the fact that, whatever the external form of its constitution, the French nation has always been prone to living under bureaucratic rule, which has gone on without any change, while surface revolutions pulled down a republic to set up a monarchy, or *vice versâ*.

Lastly, we come to England, the most conservative and aristocratic country in the world. How has popular government fared in this nation? Why, England is the mother of parliaments, the creator of the idea of constitutional, or limited, or ornamental monarchy; would it not be a paradox to say that representative institutions have fared but indifferently well within it? And yet that is exactly what we find, if we rise above the din of party shibboleths and appeal to history for her verdict. For, in the first place, it is not very long since the British Parliament became, indeed, the sovereign ruler of the British nation; and it has yet to prove itself worthy of this new extension of its powers by success. Throughout the greater part of its career the English Parliament was rarely more than an advising, consultative body.

And during that period it is plain that the unexampled success of England was due, not to the form of its political constitution, but to the peculiar aristocratic organization of English society, in consequence of which the administration, and, to some extent, even membership of the House of Commons remained in the safe hands of a class of gentlemen by birth, fortune, and training—men whose interests were most identified with the permanent interests of the country, who looked forward to their descendants since they were proud of looking backward to their ancestors, of men universally trusted and respected, and who, in short, were the very antithesis of that class of speculators, adventurers, and demagogues who most naturally rise to the top by the mere operation of representative machinery in countries less fortunate in their social structure than England.*

Young India does not understand these matters at present; but I know my countrymen too well to despair of them on that account. For, unless I am very much mistaken, this Radicalism, deep-rooted though it seem, is, to a large extent, only a superficial trick, caught, like many another, by imitation. At all events, intelligent India will contradict universal experience if it fails to generate a conservative party, side by side, with its present liberal party as the years roll on. And it will then be seen that the question of social reform is for us a question of wider import and deeper significance, even from a purely political point of view, than many of our leading men appear as yet to be aware of. In the meantime, however, it is worth while to remark that there is already a substratum of genuine patriotic feeling in the noisy and ill-considered demand for political rights, which does not deserve to be discouraged. Is it possible to educate the pick of the youths of a country from year to year, and yet to leave them indifferent about its welfare? Is it not natural, on the contrary, that, as education spreads, an increasing number of men should long for a direct and active share, however small, in the service of their country? Considerations like these convince me that the British Government will best conform to its high traditions, and best approximate to its self-appointed ideal, by making a beginning towards granting some real power to the children of the soil. It must be very limited, of course, and in a distinctly subordinate sphere. As to the Legislative Councils, and other purely consultative bodies which the Government may deem it advisable to call into being, both Government and public opinion have a somewhat delicate duty to perform in regard to them. On the one hand, they should not be made to degenerate into merely formal assemblages, nor on the other, should they attempt to

* *See* Lecky, *History of England*, Chap. 2.

overstep the bounds assigned to them in the discharge of their proper function of advice and consultation. But, perhaps, these things arrange themselves best by the slow action of practice and precedent, and are hardly fit subjects for abstract discussion.

VI.

To turn now to questions of social and religious reform among the Hindus. Can Hinduism survive the dissolution of the social organism in which it is embodied? If it can, it is in little danger; but if it cannot, it is in mortal danger. As De Tocqueville said, in his great work, that almost every considerable event that had occurred in Europe for centuries had helped on the growth of democracy, so one may say without paradox that almost the whole course of the History of India has been, to a certain extent, inimical to Hinduism. Modern India, at any rate, is charged through and through with forces, as subtle as they are energetic, which render the continued existence of Hinduism, in its present form, almost impossible. Caste is the central bulwark of Hinduism; yet is not caste being assailed by almost every action the Hindu performs, or wishes to perform, in these days? Our society is rapidly passing, according to the convenient formula of Maine, from an organization by status, of which caste is the embodiment, into an organization by contract, which is the very negation of caste. The levelling up of the lower castes, and the levelling down of the higher, are proceeding apace. The ideas we derive from English education are gradually percolating downwards, and they are essentially inconsistent with a recognition of caste. The aspirations we have begun to entertain about national unity are hardly attainable, except by a preliminary liberation of the individual from the bonds of caste. Even the efforts we make towards social reform have a tendency to undermine Hinduism, since our aim in these is to take many matters outside the pale of religion, and settle them on grounds of reason and expediency, while, according to the strictly Hindu position, religion enters necessarily into all the actions and relations of life.

Nor does it admit of doubt that the attempt to secularize life is not confined only to the few matters which find a place on the programme of the social reformer. This is, perhaps, the mightiest revolution set agoing by the advent of the English in India, albeit it is so silent. And nearly the strangest part of it consists in the fact, that the poor average Hindu seems to be almost unconscious of it. Performing his daily avocations as of yore, "he moves about in worlds not realized." Or if any change is perceptible in him, it is only that he protests louder and louder that he still continues Hindu, as if in the belief that mere protestation will avail to keep him Hindu. Probably he

deludes himself by the consideration that a religion which had lasted so long and resisted Islam successfully was invulnerable. Islam was a stout foe, but it was also an honourable foe, and disdained an underhand fight. But modern civilization smites Hinduism from behind, and cuts away the ground from under its feet. Hinduism could withstand Islam, because it was socially so solid, ceremonially so multiform and picturesque, intellectually so eclectic and intangible. But these characteristics will hardly avail against its later rival. I conclude that, if Hinduism survives, it can do so only after radical transformation. But I am not so presumptuous as to predict what will be the nature of the change that ultimately passes over its spirit. Obviously, the various attempts at renascence that are being made at present are either tentative or unsubstantial. In the latter category I would place a movement, for instance, like Theosophy; in the former, one like the Arya Samáj.

I can also adduce a different set of considerations to bring home to you the weakness of Hinduism in the present day. It is not Hinduism alone, but also Mahomedanism, that has been brought into contact with the thousand influences which we sum up under the general name of modern civilization. Does that religion appear to suffer by it, either in the gradual falling off of its adherents, or in the subtler form of intellectual disintegration and indifference? I will not hazard an opinion on the second point, as I do not know Islam from within. But as to the first, there are facts enough and to spare, to show conclusively that, while Hinduism is distinctly losing ground, its brother religion is as distinctly gaining ground in several parts of India, without compensatory loss in any. On the one hand, it is becoming well-nigh impossible for Hinduism to convert and bring within its fold the animistic Non-Aryan races by the convenient fiction of their having belonged to itself all along. On the other hand, although the days when Mahomedanism made wholesale conversions have long passed away, and although there is not now that large and steady flow of immigrants from the North-West to swell its ranks, its missionary activity is still considerable, as may any day be seen in provinces which are its strongholds, like Sindh and the Punjab and Eastern Bengal. The rigid character of the Hindu ideas of status, which make it impossible for members of the lower castes to better their condition in life, may afford some explanation of the fact that not a few go over to a religion in which, if prosperous in their worldly concerns, they can become the social equals of the highest and the best. But, of course, the most powerful cause of the relatively greater increase of the Mahomedan population of the country is the general mode of life of the Mahomedans, which makes them

stronger and healthier and longer-lived and more prolific than their Hindu brethren. Their diet is more varied and generous. Marriage among them is usually postponed till the bride is grown up, and widows remarry; "both of which are facts," according to Mr. Baines, "tending towards a longer life on the part of the women, and a healthier offspring." And it is plain that, even if we leave these ulterior consequences out of sight, the custom of widow remarriage must by itself give them a considerable advantage over the Hindus. For I find that, out of the total number of the Hindu women who were not unmarried in 1891, the proportion of widows* to those whose husbands were alive was as 1 to 2·75. Or, if we confine ourselves within age-limits between which women generally bear children, say, from fifteen to forty, the proportion of the widows to the married women whose husbands were alive on the day of the last Census was as 1 to 8·79. In round numbers, one may say that there were thirty-six lakhs of Hindu women who might have borne children, but were prevented from doing so by the prohibition against the remarriage of widows.* I am aware that this statement is open to the charge of exaggeration, since not all Hindu castes prohibit the remarriage of widows. But it is to be remembered that in many castes, and in large parts of the country, a social censure attaches to a widow marrying again, which, though, strictly speaking, it falls short of an actual prohibition, is not the less effectual. And one need not study Hindu ways and ideas very closely to find out that a caste rises in status in proportion as it approximates to the marriage customs and ceremonial of those higher in the scale or that when once a caste has begun to *brahmanize* in this way it never cares to retrace its steps and revert to its former healthier mode of life. Anyhow, it is impossible to close our eyes to the fact that, while the Hindus in the North-West Provinces and Oudh increased by 6·17 per cent. during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the Mahomedans increased by 7·15 per cent. In the Madras Presidency, where there are fourteen Hindus to one Mahomedan, the latter have increased so rapidly in the same period that the Census Commissioner expects the numbers of both to be equal in less than a century and a quarter. And in Bengal, where the Hindus are to the Maho-

* *See*, for a microscopic illustration of this, a very interesting lecture by Mr. V. V. Bhide on "The Statistics of civil condition among the Deccan and Konkan Brahmans."—*The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sárvajanik Sabhá*, April, 1895. Mr. Bhide obtains his figures from the sixteen highest castes in the Deccan which strictly prohibit the re marriage of widows. He finds that, while in these castes 49,803 women out of about two lakhs and a half are condemned to life-long widowhood, there are also 67,894 males practically condemned to celibacy for want of marriageable women.

medans nearly in the ratio of two to one, Mr. O'Donnell holds it "proved that since 1872, out of every 10,000 persons, Islam has gained 100 in Northern Bengal, 262 in Eastern Bengal, and 110 in Western Bengal—on an average 157 in the whole of Bengal proper. If this were to continue, the faith of Muhammad would be universal in Bengal proper in six and a half centuries, whilst Eastern Bengal would reach the same condition in about four centuries."

If this were to continue! Why, if Hinduism remains in its present moribund condition, a disorganized mass, passively inert, and unable, like the French emigrants, either to learn anything new or to unlearn anything old, while without and all around it "the world is more and more," the present rates of increase in the different sections of the population of India will certainly continue unfavourable to it, and grow even much more unfavourable in process of time.

Is it possible, then, to revive Hinduism by any means? But that, as I have already said, is a question far easier to ask than to answer. Still the subject is of such transcendent importance that I am tempted to venture out of my depth, and lay down a few general conditions which any comprehensive attempt at reviving Hinduism must needs satisfy, to bid for ultimate success.

It must give up the claim to regulate the whole of life in all its details, like old-world religions, and make good this loss of breadth and extent by greater moral compass and profundity. Let us take an instance. Mr. P N. Bose had the curiosity to examine the account books of the Jubilee Sanitarium at Darjiling, and he found that, while 412 Hindus resorted to it in the space of three years who did not partake of forbidden food, the number of those who were not so scrupulous was 589.* The caterers and purveyors of large towns and railway stations and travellers' bungalows, and the stewards of P. and O. and other steamers would, doubtless, be able to confirm this revelation, more or less. Of course, rural India still remains untouched by this sort of license. Yet, does any one imagine that the most orthodox and strait-laced Hinduism will ever succeed in regulating food and drink and baths and such other matters again, just as in the old days?

Secondly, even if revived Hinduism does not break with caste altogether, it will have to ignore caste to a large extent in the effort to become unified, national, and Indian, as also to avoid encumbering its adherents in the race of life under modern conditions. Thirdly it must evolve from within itself a real aristocracy, a real priesthood, real orders and hierarchy, far different from the hierarchy of castes, the priesthood of Brahmans, and

* Hindu civilization under British Rule, Vol. 2, p. 94.

the four Ashramas, to be met with partially and dimly in the sacred books, but nowhere in these days in actual life. And finally it must do all this, and very much more, if it can, by a movement which shall enlist the sympathies and evokes the earnestness of the masses from the outset. No doubt, it will be a hard task, especially so as it must be accomplished within a measurable period of time. But I suppose it is unnecessary to insist that the ability to take large views is sheer loss, instead of gain, if it blinds us to the fact that every one of us can do something to pave the way for such a revival, to bring it nearer, to make it fuller and deeper, and more firmly established; each of us in his limited sphere, and according to his limited capacity, and in proportion to his limited opportunities. A little more firmness in social and religious matters which are essential, a little less iconoclasm in matters which are unessential, a little insight, a little patience, a little charity, a little continuity of endeavour; in one word, just a little of that vigilant determination to live our own lives as we feel they ought to be lived, and the conditions will arise under which the new order of things will send down roots and cast its arms aloft and abroad from under the ashes of the old.

VII.

Contemporary India hides many other problems within its bosom; but we will not look for them on this occasion. Let us rather leave all details, and for a moment contemplate the subject as a whole. In inquiries like these we fondly suppose that there is but a single step from history to prophecy. The more intently we study the present, the more irrepressible becomes the question, what, then, will be the future? And again and again we persuade ourselves that we shall soon be able to hit the right solution. But in this we are totally mistaken. All we can say of the future is that, in the main, it will be what we make it, we and those who are to come after us. There is, however, one theory, or rather misconception of the possibilities open to the future, which is so wide-spread that I must notice it here. It is contained in the single word race. "All is race," it is said. And it is added that the Hindus are but an inferior race which is not good for much after all. But are the Hindus of one race, and are the Mahomedans of India racially so different from them? Is there a single nationality in the world which is homogeneous in blood and bone? I cannot help thinking that this race theory is a fallacy in history and politics which we owe to the prevalence of biological modes of thought. No argument is valid, as regards man, which is drawn from the brute creation, or from the inanimate world: for even if man is an animal, he is a unique ani-

mal, and man is not so dependent on his environment as trees and stocks and stones are on theirs. Wherein are the racial peculiarities of different societies of men most clearly manifested? They say, in literature and art and amusements.' But, besides that these are all secondary activities, these peculiarities are so unsubstantial as to elude the grasp even when we are surest of having seized them. It is conceivable that, in a stirring period of excitement, when all its senses are on the alert, and all its energies are called out, a nation might acquire characteristics which are indelibly stamped upon its normal type and reappear from generation to generation; but a subsequent period of excitement might undo or supplement what the first has done or left undone. It is sometimes said that the Indian belongs to a stock which is nearly worn out. But the German says the same thing of the Frenchman, the Sclav repeats it of all the other nations of Europe, the Yankee looks down upon the whole of Europe without exception, and perhaps the Jap will soon learn to echo the sentiment from his neighbour. A nation, or a society, is certainly a living organism, but the analogy implied in the word does not extend to birth and death. Is there a single clear case in history of the death of a civilized people which was not violent, but natural? I would rather expect that what a nation has done once it may do again. The Hindus need not mount back to the cloudy glories of the prehistoric Vedic period to be proud of their past. Nor are their victories confined to the speculative spheres of philosophy and astronomy and grammar. They carried the light of religion and civilization as far as Java and Japan. Their fine and costly fabrics were prized in all parts of the old world until the machine-driven factory arose. The times have changed since then, and quite other tasks are before us. But it is the patriot's privilege to hope even when he may have reason to fear.

DIAGRAM

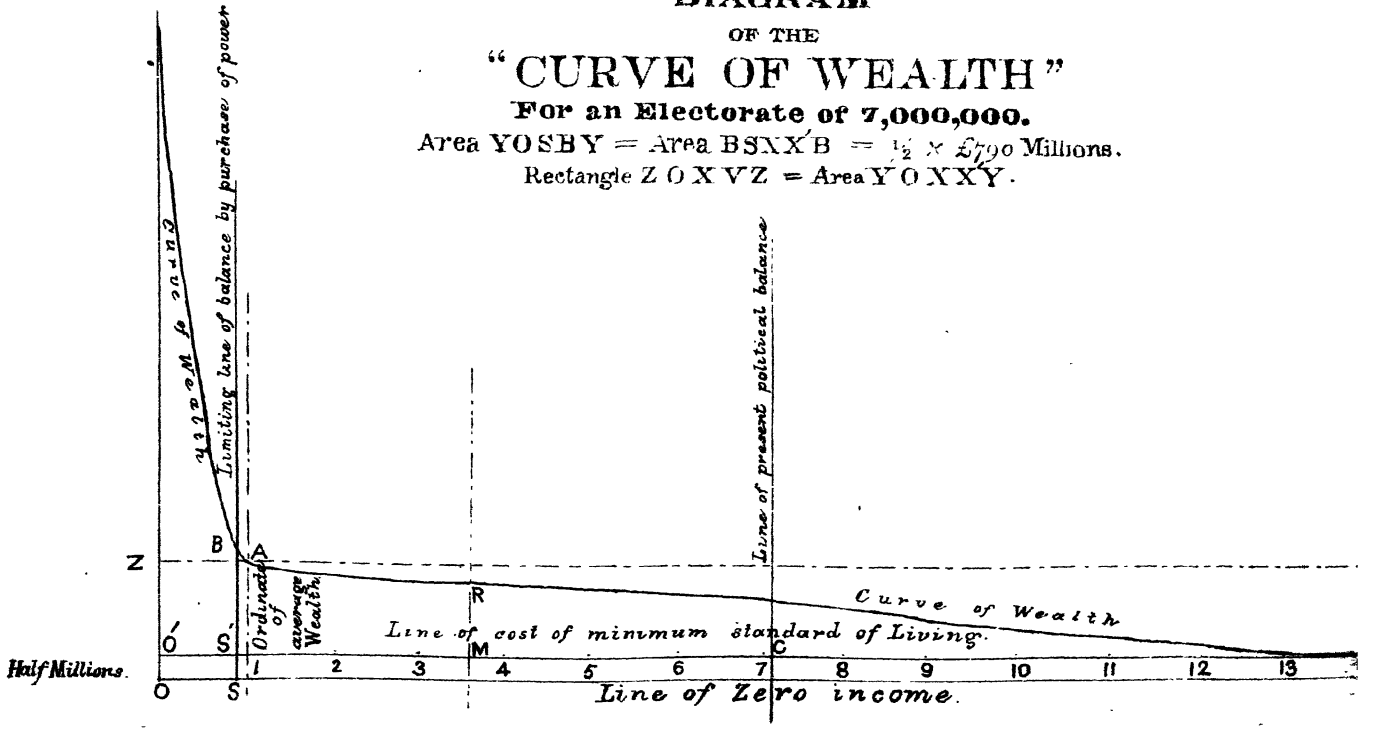
OF THE

"CURVE OF WEALTH"

For an Electorate of 7,000,000.

Area YOSBY = Area BSXX′B = ½ × £790 Millions.

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ART. VI.—THE SALE OF POWER,
OR
THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT; A SYNTHETICAL CRITICISM.

INTRODUCTION.

IN this argument my endeavour has been: first, to state clearly the principles underlying the idea of Government by representation; secondly, by a process of rigorous deduction from these principles, to show that representation wholly by the mere numerical majority of individual votes has no basis in political economy; and, thirdly, to develop, by synthesis from these results, that scheme of political control which alone accords with all the fundamental truths of economical science and with the instincts of humanity; which alone would have power to deal, with any probability of success, with the more serious problems of poverty, and of the distribution of wealth, and which alone is safeguarded from the imminent dangers that now beset other forms of popular Government.

Under this scheme of political reform no violent interference with existing conditions is demanded; all that is demonstrated is the necessity of a small change in the political centre of gravity, which is now too low for the easy running of the machine of State. It is maintained that, except by a slight upward displacement of the centre of gravity, no safe means exists of largely augmenting the revenues of the State, or, consequently, of materially adding to the prosperity of the masses. The safe limits of this variation of the political equilibrium are defined, and the constitutional law which should regulate it is indicated.

The tendency of the time is undoubtedly towards the recognition of the intolerable inertia of existing forms of democratic Government, of the necessity for the purification of electorates, and of the expediency of more rigidly defining and upholding the rights and the duties of citizenship. It is believed that the change of State polity advocated herein alone offers a satisfactory solution of these problems.

The definite statement of the equation of equilibrium is intended to serve principally as an illustration of the specific considerations affecting the sale of power, and the numerical data employed in the example given are not to be regarded as the statistics for any particular community.

The more the theory of the sale of power is studied the

more certainly will the conclusion be arrived at, that, if the details of the system of sale are elaborated with sufficient care, the dangers of different forms of political corruption, so far from being intensified, would then actually be minimized.

By the initial sale of the vote at a high figure, the system can be introduced so gradually and experimentally as to make but little difference in the existing political balance. Unforeseen dangers would thus be detected in time, and the democracy enabled to determine for themselves the safe limits of the transference of power. There is here no question of the interests of the poorer classes being endangered; the protection of their interests is absolutely in their own hands, and it is for them to decide whether the certainty of their increased prosperity would not be cheaply purchased by their sanction of the acquisition, at any price they choose to fix, of more than the normal political power by producers whose wealth-acquiring intelligence is above the normal, or by the heirs of such producers.

SECTION I.

The Problem of Poverty—the Fallacies of Socialism.

The confessed goal of the collectivist party is to nationalise the means of production, distribution and exchange by abolishing all individual power, property and privilege. But, like all enthusiasts, socialists, in their advocacy of the ideal, either fail to appreciate, or else purposely gloss over, the dangers that would inevitably be incurred were their dreams realised—dangers of civil war, or, at least, of the utter impoverishment of the nation through even a temporary stoppage of the machinery of production—while they forget that the potential possession of wealth is the one great civilizing and refining influence, without which there could be no incentive to creation or invention (for these imply over-exertion), and but small object in self-education, as long as education, by its development of dormant faculties, gives rise to new necessities.

Omitting from discussion the question of the 'unearned increment,' and that of hereditary possessions,[1] a common distribution of wealth permanently maintained implies its constant diversion from more-than-averagely to less-than-averagely productive sources, and this must entail national impoverishment, directly by the diversion, and indirectly through the withdrawal, of any incentive to the more-than-

[1] If the permanent equalisation of all incomes is impossible, the unequal distribution of wealth arising from any one set of causes is as satisfactory as that which would result from any other. And the inheritance of wealth must continue as long as thrift is considered a virtue.

average exertion demanded of those whose production is to be above the normal. Unless, then, it can be maintained that a state of universal destitution solves the difficulty, hopes of any really permanent alleviation of poverty through the redistribution of wealth are clearly chimerical, being based on false assumptions, and, more particularly, on a neglect of the primary instincts of humanity. The purpose of this argument is to show that, if the problem of pauperism is to be solved at all, it will be solved, not by disregarding, but by making every provision politically for, the free and unrestricted play of these innate evolutionary tendencies.

SECTION II

The Conditions of good Government.

The problem is clearly a commercial one; and by an analysis of the foregoing considerations, it will be seen that, to ensure a healthy national life, the system of Government must be such as to satisfy the four following conditions:—

(1.) That it should promote the flow of wealth to the State, whether by internal production or external exchange.

(2.) That it should not hamper, but incite to, industrial exertion, and encourage every form of talent.

(3.) That it should determine the minimum expenditure to be incurred by the State on behalf of every citizen, as the limit below which a life cannot be safely or healthily lived as regards both the State and the individual, and settle the most desirable combination (which will usually vary with the circumstances of each particular community) of the three methods of meeting this expenditure, which are (1) taxation; (2) the exclusion of unprofitable citizens; (3) their forced labour; and (4) that in all political reform the law of continuity should be observed.

SECTION III.

Voluntary Taxation by the Sale of Voting-power.

Now, on examination, it will be found that not one of the existing systems of democratic Government owes its evolution in its present form to any special governing idea of building on the first condition cited, while the clearly defined tendency of the most recent legislation is to attempt to fulfil the third at the expense of the second; that is by spoliation without compensation. Many politicians undoubtedly hold that the

second and third conditions are incompatible—that extreme poverty is, inevitably, always to be with us unless eradicated by a compulsory re-distribution of wealth; that is, by confiscation, a tax, not necessarily on talent alone, but, at the same time, on all talent Such a tax is imposed by any special exemption. There is, however, one hitherto neglected method of largely augmenting the revenues of a State enjoying representative Government, and thus, of meeting the expenditure involved in satisfying the third condition, as far as it may be met under the heading of Taxation, of which it would, in all probability, be the most fruitful sub-head. This is the additional self-taxation of the citizens of a State by their purchase of political power.

SECTION IV.

Voting-power should be purchasable, a necessary corollary from the first proposition of political economy.

The monetary problem is, without having recourse to class taxation, to draw a sensible fraction of the total wealth of the country into the national exchequer, where it will become available for the alleviation of poverty, and by simply delegating the power of Government to those who provide it with its resources in proportion to the resources they provide, the State has it in its power to obtain, without friction, an enormous increase of its revenue. In other words, in order to attract wealth voluntarily, since, without incurring grave social dangers, it is only the voluntary contribution of wealth that can add to the resources of the State after a certain limit of taxation has been reached, the State must dispose of political power, by the sale either of votes, or of parliamentary seats (taken as the equivalent of so many votes in the aggregate), to all prepared to buy.

For as, in the present industrial world, of two workmen, he who produces the most in the same time, receives and deserves the higher wage from his employer, so should the State, as employer, proportion its payments according to, and in exchange for, the production of its citizens. But what is the only marketable commodity disposable by the State in exchange for the wealth (the fruits of production in general), or revenue, which it must acquire from its citizens in order to provide for the expenses of government? One thing only, power, political power, which in nations enjoying representative government, is (as far as concerns the distribution of the revenues) simply voting-power, or the number of votes controllable by any individual in the election of Parliamentary representatives. Reasoning, therefore, from a basis unassailable from an economi-

cal point of view, to wit, payment by merit, the conclusion must be arrived at that, if safeguards can be devised to counteract certain dangers, of less moment than those incurred under our existing political system, the sale of voting-power in the State is not only desirable, but also most expedient. Moreover, as subsequent analysis will show, only on this properly adjusted sale of power by the State, can a political system be constructed of sufficient elasticity to satisfy those conditions on agreement with which all healthy forms of government should depend.

But, before proceeding to this demostration, it will be best to develop the general proposals from that axiom of political economy—payment according to outturn.

To bring about the consummation of the socialistic dream—an equally enjoyable (or miserable) life for all—, it is evident an expenditure must be incurred by the State on behalf of each individual equivalent in value to the quotient resulting from the division of the total national income by the number of adult citizens.[2] Those citizens, then, whose income (or the value of whose production) happened also to be this amount would clearly be costing the State nothing, as those whose income was less would be relatively unproductive, and supported to some extent at the expense of the State. But, assuming that there is no option in the exchange of production for political power, since the power delegated should be proportional to the help afforded, the total political power determining the distribution of the revenues, or, which is the same thing, the total number of votes cast in the election of the Representative Assembly should have been obtained by payments made into the treasury constituting the total national income, or commercial power. From this equation of political to productive [2a] power it follows, that the right to intervene in questions of the distribution of revenue to the extent of casting one vote should be held by all those whose maintenance costs the State nothing—whose production is equivalent in value to the average expenditure[3] incurred by it on behalf of every citizen; or, in other words (always supposing that the whole income of the individual is annexed by the State), that one vote should be possessed by those whose income, or the value of whose production, is not less than the value (national income divided by the number of adult citizens); while the number of votes controllable by all others should be in the proportion of their income to this unit income.

[2] *Vide* note 3

[2a] *Vide* note 15.

[3] This sum including also the cost of maintenance of the average number of children per adult head of population It is in reality the value of the minimum standard of living.

Practically, however, it has to be recognized that the total value of a nation's output could not be maintained at the highest level were the excess production of its best workers forcibly appropriated for the benefit of others, even if the former were offered compensation in the shape of proportional political power; for, if disinclined to the conversion, it is clear they would at once sink their production to the average. The exchange must, therefore, be effected voluntarily—that is, the process must be one of purchase and sale, and the revenue obtained in this way will vary, according to the relative political calm or disturbance, between zero and the greater moiety of the national income. Consequently it is not possible to assign any definite value to the personal vote held by every elector[4], though it follows directly from these considerations that every self-supporting citizen [5] should be an elector, provided that in such an electorate the sale of votes at a certain price is legalised at the same time.

Theoretically, since they have to be cast together, the personal and purchased votes should be of the same value; practically the value of the latter has to be so fixed as to obviate the danger of the establishment of a plutocratic form of government. Such an objection will inevitably be raised against the sale of political power; it remains to show that the danger is entirely dependent on the price of the purchasable vote.

SECTION V.

Considerations that determine the Value of the Vote. The Equation of Equilibrium. Its variable factors.

The electorate may be regarded as formed of two classes, according as the individuals composing them draw (1) more or (2) less than the average income of the whole electorate; the latter class including also those drawing the average income. Electors included in the former category may be considered the plutocracy, those in the latter the democracy[5a], of the nation.

[4] Unless taken as the expenditure incurred by the State in wholly supporting one adult.

[5] Independent of sex; for all females not supported by the State are either themselves producers indirectly, inasmuch as they facilitate the operations of industry by the social relief they afford, or, in being supported by others, relieve the State of the necessity of supporting them, and are therefore entitled to exercise unit voting-powers on this account. The question as to whether women should participate in the work of legislation is an entirely distinct one. The difficulties of a mixed assembly are obvious; and the entire delegation of representation to men involves no hardship. Not so the delegation of voting-power, which, in many cases would result in the suppression or inversion of the political opinion of producers.

[5a] This is, in reality, only a particular case of the general problem. The term "plutocracy" is more correctly defined in the Appendix A.

Such a subdivision is not arbitrary, but follows from the derivation of the terms employed. The danger, then, of the control of the government falling unduly into the hands of the "classes" will be ensured against, if the value of the vote can be so regulated that, in an imaginary case of unstable political equilibrium, each class voting solid, as well as purchasing votes up to the limit of its available income, balances the aggregate number of votes cast by the other in the same way.

This is the general statement of the equation of political equilibrium.

The receipts from the sale of power, as occurs in the sale of any commodity, must vary with the demand for it due to the comparative state of political tension; but, in order to express the equation of political equilibrium numerically, and so deduce the cost price of a vote, some certain value must be assigned as the major limit of the possible expenditure of the two classes of the nation, in their acquisition of votes, or as the greatest fraction of its gross income that either class, as a whole, would devote to the purchase of political power. A reference to the subsequent numerical statement of the equation of equilibrium will show that, if there is a balance of political power for the major limit of expenditure, its balance for any smaller purchase of power will incline towards the democracy. Hence why it is essential to define the limit for either class. For the plutocracy it is virtually reached with the limit of taxation, when further taxation would become intolerable and provoke either to armed resistance, to desertion from the community, or to cessation of production. Here it is proposed to take the fraction $\frac{1}{10}$ as the limit of self-imposed taxation for this class. The assumption is, as an assumption, open to criticism; but, since taxation in the United Kingdom has at no time approximated closely to this limit[6], the ratio may reasonably be considered as not too small a basis for computation; and, as a dead-weight for the upper classes to work against, it would appear a very sufficient safeguard.[7] Further, it has to be remembered that, as this ratio is raised, the cost price of a vote is raised; and, the higher the price of a vote, the smaller would become the national receipts from the sale of

[6] The highest direct taxation, *i.e.*, income-tax, being 10*d* in the £, for the year 1860-61. It is to be noted that, if the upper classes were to expend, on the average, $\frac{1}{10}$ of their income on the direct purchase of power, with a high rate of income-tax in addition, they would surrender in all nearly $\frac{1}{10}$th of their incomes. This would be more than double the highest taxation ever imposed.

[7] The specific considerations affecting this question are examined in greater detail later on. *Vide* also Appendix, note.

power. Moreover, the upper classes are, usually, themselves pretty equally divided in opinion on most political questions. For the democracy, in spite of the fact that their wealth is never tied up to the same extent that it is in the nominally richer classes, it is thought that as low a ratio as $\frac{1}{50}$ may be taken.

For the remaining factors of the equation, let it be assumed that the community for which the value of the vote has to be determined is such, that there are in all 7,000,000 electors on the register, 500,000 of whom constitute the plutocracy, as before defined, with a total annual income of £400 millions, that is an average income of £800 to each individual, while the remaining 6,500,000 electors form the democracy, with an average income of £60 per individual, or a total income of £390 millions. Assume also that a general election occurs, on the average, once in every 4 years, and take "x" to represent the unknown—the proper price of the vote for this particular community.

Then for the major limit of expenditure on political power the equation of equilibrium will assume this form :—

Example of the numerical statement of the Equation of Equilibrium.

Votes cast by the plutocracy

$$500{,}000 \text{ (personal)} + \frac{4 \times \frac{800}{20} \times 500{,}000}{x} \text{ (purchased)}$$

$$=\text{Votes cast by the democracy}$$

$$=6{,}500{,}000 \text{ (personal)} + \frac{4 \times \frac{60}{20} \times 6{,}500{,}000}{x} \text{ (purchased)}$$

whence the value of x, or the price at which it is safe to offer votes for sale, is found to be about £8·13 sterling. Accepting the hypothesis of a possible contribution by the upper classes of one-tenth of their average income, as a sufficient deadweight when compared with that of one-fiftieth only, assumed as the maximum effort possible for the democracy, an inspection of the equation of equilibrium will make it clear that the variable functions on which it depends are :—

(1) The numbers of the electorate.
(2.) The wealth of the country, and the nature of its distribution.
(3) The frequency of a general election.

The cost price of a single vote should, accordingly, be altered from time to time, as variations, ascertained from statistical Government Reports, occur in all or any of these factors. But, since the object in view is the greatest sale of voting power consistent with political safety, its price should

on no account be increased beyond the value determined from the equation. In order to bring an extension of individual power within the reach of the very poorest sections of the community, fractions of a vote (possibly down to hundredths) should also be made purchasable.

SECTION VI.

Purely Legislative Bodies, and the inexpediency of the entire control of Legislation by the Popular Assembly.

In the statement of the equation of equilibrium the underlying assumption, though one which may be challenged, is always that the Representative Assembly possesses undivided control of the State revenues. It is this fact alone which renders possible a definite assessment of the value of a vote. and thus, inferentially, as will subsequently be explained, of the value also of a seat in the Representative Chamber.

To a body whose members are selected, not elected, no such principle can be applied, since such a body does not concern itself with questions of the State revenue. But it is in this restriction of its functions that its power mainly lies, for the possibility of legislation in self-interest is thus reduced to a minimum, and its members can therefore be selected for actual pre-eminence, and not, as they otherwise would be, for relative pre-eminence in classes, in order to balance the number of legislators in, and therefore the interests of, each class.

It is not within the province of this argument to discuss at any length the value of an Upper Chamber. But it is clear that, if its organisation is framed so as to secure the proper selection of its members, it must necessarily be a more efficient body for the work of legislation than the popular Chamber, which is burdened with the work of supply, and which is composed of a constantly changing stream of individuals collected more or less at hap-hazard.

If the desirability of the selection of legislators is admitted, the majority control of legislation cannot be upheld; and, as the desirability of selection cannot be denied, it follows that the function of the Representative Chamber should be simply to determine the disposal of the revenues. But the present division of legislative responsibility between the two Houses is a necessity arising from the impossibility of absolutely ensuring the selection desired.

Section VII.

The Price of Seats in elected Chambers deduced from that of the Vote.

To return from this digression to the consideration of representation in a popular assembly. Under the present system of the election of members to form such a body, it can be asserted of any constituency that its seat may be held by any one having the control of a definite number of votes. As national development progresses, the tendency must be to equalize this number of votes in every constituency, and it is, therefore, allowable to regard a seat as the equivalent of the number of votes obtained by dividing the numbers of the whole electorate by the number of seats allotted for representation. It might, it is true, be argued that, as a majority of one in any election will secure the seat of a constituency, it would be more proper to regard a seat as the equivalent of only half the number of votes that could be cast, plus one. Such reasoning would not, however, be admissible as long as only one seat is provided for a constituency, even when of absolutely unanimous political opinion. If, then, political exigencies demand that a distinction shall be drawn between representation of the two kinds, in order to leave untouched the existing system of election by personal voting, the representation of purchased votes must be made by grouping together as many of them, as the equivalent of a seat, as there are, on the average, electors in a constituency.

Thus, for sake of illustration, it may be supposed that, in the community for which the value of the vote has been found to be £8·13, 670 seats are allotted for the election of members by personal voting, and that it is required to find the money equivalent of a seat which will maintain the imaginary balance of power. Then, since 670 seats are allotted to 7,000,000 votes, a seat may be considered the equivalent of $\frac{7,000,000}{670}$, or 10,400 votes, and its money equivalent will consequently be the product of 10,400 and £8·13 (the value of the vote), or about £85,000.

At this price of a seat the balance of the two parties into which the State is supposed to be divided would be formed (by substitution in the equation of equilibrium) as under :—

For the Plutocracy, by 941 purchased seats
48 elected do.
Total 989:

For the Democracy, by 367 purchased seats
622 elected do.
Total 989:

the total hypothetical expenditure of the two classes, by which each purchased seat would be held for four years, being, respectively, £80,000,000 and £31,200 000.

If the possible *voluntary* taxation of the plutocracy were taken at as high a ratio to their total income as $\frac{1}{10}$, the value of the vote would, in the same way, be found to be £21·466; the value of a seat £224,105, and the balance of power, in the imaginary case of antagonistic voting between the two classes, would be obtained, as before:—

For the Plutocracy, by	713	purchased seats
	48	elected do.
Total	761	
For the Democracy, by	139	purchased seats
	622	elected do.
Total	761	

On analysing these results more generally, it will be seen that, to secure the adoption of their policy, the plutocracy would have, in the first case, to pay the nation more than eighty millions sterling, and, in the second, more than one hundred and sixty millions; and that this payment would have to be repeated at intervals of four years should the democratic opposition continue, or, in other words, should the government of the country be at any time dominated by a plutocracy, the national revenues would then be augmented by at least twice the sum formerly recovered from direct taxation[8a].

Section VIII.

The Adjustment of Representation.

The objection that, under the system of representation proposed, it would be impossible to include in one House all the members requiring seats, need not be held to vitiate suggestions which are otherwise allowed to be expedient. For the difficulty may be met in various ways, some of which are as follows:—

(1.) By enlarging constituencies and so decreasing the number of representatives of both kinds.

(2.) By proportioning the seating capacity of the House according to the number of each party acknowledging a certain leader[8b].

[8a] With the data assumed for the wealth and numbers of the community, the revenue from direct taxation could not exceed £80,000,000.

This would give another basis from which to derive the value of the vote and seat—that any minority, to obtain half the seats in the Representative Chamber, should first have to pay a sum not less than the revenue recovered from direct taxation. *Vide* Appendix A.

[8b] For the discussion of questions of Home policy. Only elected members would vote on matters of foreign policy. The differentiation of the one from the other would present no insuperable difficulty, if carried out in accordance with the guiding principle that there should be a minimum possibility of foreign interference. • *Vide* Appendix B.

(3.) By the further decentralization of Government.

To this end a Chamber for legislation and the regulation of foreign policy in conjunction with the second Chamber (corresponding to the House of Lords of the United Kingdom), and for the determination of the amount of revenue to be contributed by each component State of the nation, could be constructed, either by the election of members throughout constituencies formed by grouping together three or four provincial constituencies, or, if it is wished to dispense with another series of elections, by giving groups of members of equal strength, in each provincial Assembly, power to nominate one of their number to the national Assembly [9]

In the latter case fresh elections would be held in constituencies whose members were thus elevated; for members holding purchased seats, the machinery which originally determined the grant of the seat in the local Chamber would be utilized to fill it up. For reasons to be subsequently explained, in the process of nominating there should be no intermixing of the two kinds of representatives; but nominating groups should be formed either wholly of ordinarily elected members, or wholly of members holding purchased seats. The number of elected seats in each provincial Chamber would be strictly proportional to the provincial population, and the price of a purchasable seat the same for each. Variations in the price of a seat, in accordance with variations in national and commercial statistics, would be made, from time to time, by the national Assembly, and this body would also authorize the grant[10] of seats on receipt of their value from their nominators. [In fact, an important part of its work, should be to regulate all matters connected with representation in the provincial Chambers.]

Section IX.

Different methods of the Sale of Power and their relative Advantages. The system of Sale by Nomination.

Whichever of these three methods might be adopted, the principle of voluntary taxation would remain unaffected, nor would any difficulty be experienced in applying it to any one of them. But the sale of political power can itself be carried out in the following different ways, and it remains to decide which of them offers the most advantages :—

(1.) By having votes sold in each constituency and

[9] It is needless to say that the discussion of national and local affairs should be kept as distinct as possible, and that, therefore, except for its temporarily prejudicial effect on business, an independent election of national representatives is much to be preferred to one which must generally reflect opinions on anything but national questions.

[10] The method of the purchase of seats is discussed subsequently.

allowing them to be cast along with personal votes in the election of a member for the provincial Assembly.

(2.) By selling seats in the provincial Assemblies direct, at the value deduced from the equation of equilibrium.

(3.) By grouping together, throughout all the constituencies, payments in favour of certain individuals named by the payees, and, in return for these payments, placing seats at the disposal of the nominees at the proper price per seat, at the same time giving each payee votes in the election of members to the district or local councils at the 'value of the vote'—these votes, of course, being additional to the personal vote.

In illustration of this third system, suppose that A, B, C, D, are each resident in different municipal districts, and contribute, respectively, £15,000. £2,000, £50,000, and £18,000, at the time fixed for the receipt of payments for which seats in the provincial Chambers are to be given in return. Take the price of a seat at £85,000 and that of a vote at £8·13, both deduced from the equation of equilibrium. Then, if A, B, C, and D all nominate their contributions in favour of a fifth individual, E, E will be entitled to nominate to

$$\frac{15{,}000+2{,}000+50{,}000+18{,}000}{85{,}000} \text{ seats,}$$

or to 1 seat in the national Assembly, while A, B, C, and D will be granted additional votes, in their own municipal districts[11], of $\frac{15{,}000}{8{\cdot}13}$, $\frac{2{,}000}{8{\cdot}13}$, $\frac{50{,}000}{8{\cdot}13}$, and $\frac{18{,}000}{8{\cdot}13}$, or of about 1,845, 246, 6,150, and 2,214 votes respectively; E's nominee holding his seat, and A, B, C, and D their votes, for a period of four years [11a].

Such a process would be extended to grouping together thousands of electors contributing from thousands sterling to a few shillings, provided that they all nominated the same individual; who would himself nominate to the number of seats represented by the total of these contributions, divided by the value of a seat.

Individuals, to acquire the power of nominating to seats, would have to be registered, and pay a considerable fee to Govern-

[11] And the same number of additional votes in the election of members to the provincial Chambers, if there are both provincial and national representative bodies.

[11a] Payments in part of the value of a seat standing to the credit of any nominator could be carried forward to his credit for the grant of a seat in the next subsequent election.

ment. At the time of election a list of nominators [12] with their proper designation would be given to each elector desirous of placing funds at the disposal of any nominator, and of buying additional municipal votes. Should it be considered advisable that all members of the provincial and national Assemblies should go before the constituencies, it would only be necessary to enact that all members, to hold purchased seats, should first be elected in the ordinary manner in any constituency, but not more than two, possibly, by any single constituency, in order that the operation of personal approval by the electors should not become a mere farce, [12a] by all such members of any particular party being passed through a 'safe' seat. At the same time such a procedure would, probably, stifle the representation of interests which, though numerous in the aggregate, happened to be in a minority, throughout every individual constituency.

These are the three methods of effecting the sale of political power, and they would be relatively advantageous in the degree in which they succeeded in effecting this sale and avoided the danger of internal and foreign corruption. It is, of course, this danger that will occur to most persons directly the sale of political power is mentioned. But, on reflection, subsequent to the perusal of these definite proposals, it will probably be admitted that, if they were adopted, the danger would become evanescent. Moreover, if it is a question of the direct sale of votes, there must necessarily be the less chance of personal bribery, the money being utilized with greater certainty of return in the open purchase of power; if of seats alone, bribery has no more opportunity than at present. A system somewhat analagous to the issue of Government paper, but with additional safeguards, since the forms would not be negotiable or transferable, could be devised for the registration of payments made to Government for the purchase of votes; so that neither in this direction would there be any opening for fraud. But these points will be referred to subsequently at greater length.

As far as concerns the political machinery for the sale of power, the first of the three methods suffers under the disadvantages that it would be hampered by local conditions; that, the circumstances of individuals being known, their probable support would be calculable, which would tend to make sacrifice on the side of the minority useless, and, conse-

[12] Usually Secretaries of political societies, though it is in accordance with the principles adverted to that any elector should himself be able to nominate to a seat.

[12a] It is clear, however, that the process of nomination is really as much a process of selection as the ordinary election of members by constituencies.

quently, minimise the revenue accruing from the sale of votes; that there would be more opportunity for fraud than under a system providing for the separate registration of purchased votes, while these would result in the existence of no distinction between the two kinds of representation. It is true that there should be no such distinction as far as the determination of national internal interests is concerned; here the vote merely stands for a payment to the State enabling one citizen to live; but, in order to escape the dangers of *foreign* intervention, the separation of representation becomes necessary; because, otherwise, it is possible to conceive of a hostile State purchasing a foreign policy in its own interests; even though such a purchase would, practically, be the equivalent of the payment of a war-indemnity in advance. But, if the election of members by personal, is kept entirely distinct from that by purchased, voting, foreign interference need be no more feared than at present, if members of the latter class are debarred from participating in the control of foreign policy,[13] though being, in all other respects, on an absolute equality with ordinarily-elected members.

The second of the three systems, though avoiding the dangers and inconveniences incurred by the first, would yet be ill-adapted to promote the ready sale of political power, inasmuch as, under it, individual electors could not secure that personal power the possession of which would be the great stimulus to purchase by the contribution of their wealth to the State.

But the third system at once provides for the acquisition of personal power and embraces all the advantages offered by the other two, and, in giving each elector, for one contribution to the State, both local voting power proportional to it and the part purchase of a parliamentary seat at the same time, the fact is recognized that a citizen is entitled to share in the direction of all matters affecting himself, even though, if, instead of being regulated under one government, for convenience of administration, they are treated independently as local or general relations. Parliamentary and municipal voting power should, in fact, be the same for the same support afforded to the State,[14] and this result would be secured under the third system for the sale of political power.

[13] Such a restriction would necessarily tend towards the greater proportional expenditure of revenue on purely home affairs.

[14] That is, by the payment of a certain sum to the State, an elector should acquire the right of casting a proportional number of votes in the election of members to local *and* provincial, *and* national representative bodies, and this right would be held for a definite number of years subsequent to his payment. If representatives for the national assembly are elected, instead of being nominated by groups of members in the

The possibility of the malversation of municipal funds to the purchase of party power is common to all these schemes; but the probability of its occurrence is infinitesimal, for a majority held by a party that starved the local funds would, to a certainty, disappear, even if the fraud were not immediately detected by the vigilance of the opposition.

SECTION X.

The system of Sale by Nomination tested by its fulfilment of the conditions of good Government.

It is now advisable to examine whether the third scheme satisfies the conditions for a healthy national life. The first of these, it will be remembered, is that the political system should be such as to promote the greatest possible circulation of wealth, both by internal production, and external exchange. The creation of wealth by internal production is itself mainly dependent on the fulfilment of the second condition—an adequate return for exertion—and this the sale of power, by opening for its acquisition a new avenue to ambition, would ensure to a greater extent than would those political systems under which, though the operations of industry are unrestricted, its fruits are disregarded politically. But, independently of the direct flow of wealth into the national treasury which would necessarily ensue from the sale of power, it is evident that foreign or outside wealth would be as surely attracted to a State in which the acquisition of more than the normal political influence was made possible by purchase, after naturalization, as it would be driven away under the centrifugal tendency of a socialistic régime. The former system would, therefore, conduce to the most rapid commercial development possible of the nations adopting it, and the prosperity of these would, in turn, reach to the improvement of the industries of the world generally.

Again, with the accretion of wealth, and a large augmentation of revenue above that derivable from forced taxation alone, it would be by so much the more easy to maintain a high standard of national life, as required by the third condition, and to meet the expenditure involved in doing so. As to the fourth, which postulates for ordinary social development without social, industrial, or political chaos, the voluntary self-taxation of the richer classes must be a safer means of

provincial Assemblies, voting powers acquired by purchase should, for the former body, be exercised through a process of nomination (as has been explained), in order to differentiate between members elected by personal and purchased votes in that Chamber in which foreign relations come under discussion; for the latter bodies, as in municipal councils, by casting so many more votes together with the personal vote.

largely increasing the national revenues than any system of spoliation without compensation, disguised, though the latter may be, in euphemistic terms, and supported by glowing promises impossible of realization—safer, because spoliation without compensation must, of necessity, excite to opposition to the government, and irritation, which, in an aggravated form, and if those despoiled are men of mettle, will ultimately develop into civil war; or, if not, their opposition will die out at length with their voluntary deterioration as producers, and there can be no more spoliation when all are equally poor. Thus would Socialism result either in civil war, or in the creation of a nation of paupers. Again, of what advantage would be the industrial bouleversement advocated by collectivists if it is to be made practicable by the proportional return of production, for this is already carried out wherever an income-tax is imposed, and such a tax can be increased at any moment; though not to any great extent without incurring the dangers already alluded to. But these dangers are avoided under a system which gives to the classes on whom taxation must chiefly fall, power, by their *voluntary* contribution of the revenues required for the administration of the State, to avoid a heavy income-tax with its uncompensated appropriation of the fruits of their industry.

No; to deal succesfully with the problems of poverty, a political plan of reform is required to attach itself, without jar, to existing conditions, not to collide with them.

SECTION XI.

General question of the Sale of Power. Its many advantages.

There are several considerations relating to the broad question of the sale of political power which it will now be convenient to discuss.

First, to refer again to the danger of corruption. This is, in general, the effort made by wealth to assert its influence in spite of political disfranchisement, and it must ever be rife, in some form or other, where its power is entirely disregarded. To recognize the influence of wealth politically is, therefore, to minimise the danger of corruption. The principle that payment should be made for the enjoyment of political power is also true conversely; the only difficulty is to draw some equivalence between wealth and the power of disposing of that wealth, and this is to be done by making the two convertible at such a value as will satisfy two somewhat conflicting conditions—the greatest possible sale of power consistent with security against the domination of too small a minority. It has to be noted that the poorer sections of the

community have, on their side, this great advantage that for them to purchase political power is to cast their bread upon the waters, for their expenditure must return to them again in the shape of cheaper food, more accessible education, greater comfort, and better insurance against national disaster. Not only, in fact, will their expenditure return to them again, but they will be reimbursed nearly two-fold by the simultaneous distribution of contributions from the wealthier and more educated classes who will always demand for their numbers, and purchase, a preponderating representation in the national councils. Such a process of literal give-and-take is likely to afford a safer means of carrying out the re-distribution of wealth, as far as may be, than measures of pure confiscation passed by a democracy which is hindered at every step by the latent opposition of a capital of some thousand millions sterling.

Another purely advantageous result would be, that any considerable sale of power must effect the gradual purification of the electorate, through the extra influence in the direction of affairs acquired by those who are ready to sacrifice their material pleasures in order to support that policy which they esteem to be right. And another, that the revenue would automatically adjust itself to probable requirements, since most political questions on which there is much difference of opinion turn on, or involve, the grant of funds, which would then be provided in a degree proportional to the intensity of the opposition excited.

Again, on the hypothesis that a certain minimum revenue has to be raised, to whatever extent the sale of political power is effected, by so much can direct taxation be remitted.

It must also be noted that, while, under the system of the sale of power, the primary essential equality of all men is recognized, their subsequent inequality as producers [15] is also admitted. For, though chance must always enter considerably into this process of differentiation, its effect is not great enough to warrant the present absolute disregard of the individual income by the State polity. And it is certain that Asiatic nations, perceiving this incongruity, will never freely accept any form of popular Government, until one shall have been devised in which the political power of wealth is fully conceded, and the conversion of wealth to power facilitated.

[15] Political economists have shown that all citizens, except those living on inherited wealth, are producers, since all, with this exception, are engaged in either the direction, the protection, or the facilitation of industry. The congeries of professions included under the third sub-head is, possibly, the most varied, since this branch embraces not only lawyers and engineers, in so far as they do not come under the headings of 'protection and direction,' but also retail merchants, bankers, operators in exchange, as well as all who cater for the mental, physical, or moral improvement of others.

SECTION XII.

Vital distinction between the Sale of Power and the Representation of Wealth.

The Right Value of the Vote at any moment.

It is necessary to insist that the purchase of power is diametrically opposed to the representation of wealth, for it is not wealth that would be represented, but the surrender of wealth, or a gift to the State. Thus the purchase of power would in no wise abrogate the political axiom, that the special representation of wealth is indefensible; on the contrary, it is based in accordance with this view; for while the concession of additional representation to wealth without payment is the prodigal grant of unmerited political privilege, the purchase of political influence by wealth is the legitimate exchange of power of one kind for that of another. Or, to put the argument in another form, under the representation of wealth the State is robbed by the individual, under taxation without the possible acquisition of political power the individual is robbed by the State; but the purchase of political power by wealth is exchange and no robbery.

It may be objected that it would be impossible to assign any absolute standard for the value of a vote, [16] and that, being arbitrary, the value it would be altered to suit the probable interests of the party in power.* But there is only one particular value which can maintain the balance of power giving the most productive results, and the difficulty in maintaining control of the revenue must vary inversely with the amount of revenue collected. Hence, the tendency must be for the vote to remain at that value which will give the most productive results, or will benefit the State to the greatest degree. Thus the criterion of the proper value of the vote is to be found from the comparison of the revenues resulting from its different values; that being the most suitable value which effects the maximum sale.

SECTION XIII.

The Constitutional Law that should be observed in all variations in the value of the Vote.

A political party which, after varying the value of the vote from the most productive price to that which best suited its own interests, attempted to make good the resulting deficit in the revenues by class taxation, would be at once confronted with all the difficulties which it is the object of the sale of

[16] If not taken as the expense incurred by the State in supporting one adult at the minimum standard of living.

* *Vide* note [16].

power to minimise. Hence, were political power made purchasable, the one condition to be observed by all parties, the one constitutional law not to be neglected, is that, if recourse must be had to direct taxation, it should take the form of a percentage appropriation of the incomes of every class, the poorest not excepted.[16a] The irritation then ensuing from the uncompensated annexation of wealth will conduce to the anticipatory sacrifice of an equal sum for which some equivalent is obtainable.

SECTION XIV.

Whether the receipt of relief from the State should debar absolutely from political rights.

It was shown at the beginning of this argument that the elective franchise of personal voting should be extended to all citizens, independent of sex, who do not receive support from the State. It would be convenient to make the receipt of support from the State debar absolutely from electoral rights, even though the recipient were, under Government supervision, to some extent productive. At the same time, a certain standard of living having been fixed as the irreducible minimum for all citizens, it would be possible to organize a system of State relief by payments made for the surrender of proportional political power; it being left to the discretion of the local authorities how far this relief should be expended at the liberty of the individual. Thus, imagine that the value of the unit of political power were £50, sub-divided, in order to obviate the difficulty of dealing with fractions, into fifty votes of £1 each; a completely self-supporting citizen being consequently empowered to cast 50 such votes in any election without payment. Then to others, requiring the assistance of the State to maintain the minimum standard of living, would be issued £20, £30, £40, on the surrender of 20, 30, 40 votes; and to those whose labour was organized by the State, would be credited 20, 30, 40 votes according as the value of their production approached £20, £30, £40. This is supposing that the value of the vote equals the cost of the minimum standard of living. If it is any other value, the voting power to which a partially self-supporting citizen would be entitled is simply the ratio of the value of his production to the value of the vote, and payments made for the surrender

[16a] In the initial introduction of the scheme this principle could be fulfilled by the deduction of payments made by individuals in their purchase of voting power from the income-tax recoverable from them; a small fee being demanded for the declaration of exemption, in order to cover the expenses of registration.

of voting power would be the fraction of the value of the vote equal to the fraction of unit voting power surrendered up to the value of the minimum standard of living. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that either receipt of relief from the State should entirely disqualify from voting-rights, or the value of the vote and the cost of the minimum standard of living should be the same. For, suppose the former to be £120, the latter £20. Then the surrender of one-sixth of a vote would entitle a citizen to a grant of £20 from the State; that is, a citizen wholly supported by the State at the minimum standard of living, and, therefore, an unproductive encumbrance, and unentitled, *ipso facto*, to have any voice in the disposal of the revenues, would yet retain five-sixths of the unit-voting-power.

SECTION XV.

The Selection of Representatives, Proposals for the Sale of Power are within the sphere of practical politics.

As has been previously observed, there are two ways—and only two ways—in which an individual can benefit the State firstly, by creating wealth and surrendering it to the common good; secondly, by performing meritorious work in the State service. The system of government should, therefore, be designed to encourage to both these ends; but until power is made purchasable in modern States, the first and most important means of stimulating the national prosperity will remain entirely neglected. And, while there is nothing in the method of representative government to secure the performance of the work of legislation by citizens the best fitted for it, the sale of power would, on the other hand, tend to introduce into the national councils men endowed with the special productive genius so necessary to the best advancement of the community. For[17] the possession of wealth is the only certain measure of the talent that creates it, and it is the average productive talent of a nation that determines its comparative prosperity. Hence, arguments against the sale of power based on the supposed deterioration of legislative capacity that would result can be seen to be eminently fallacious.

As a final and important commentary on this part of the subject, it has to be observed that direct antagonism between the plutocracy and democracy of a nation, as such, can occur only concerning the incidence of taxation; and, as it is a contradiction in terms to assert that the wealthier electors might attempt to purchase a majority in order wholly to escape their contributions to the State, the only danger liable to be

[17] Apart from inherited wealth.

incurred under the exchange of wealth for power disappears when the condition is observed that there shall be no diminution in the national revenue, whatever minority may attain to power. Once immunity from this danger has been secured, the influence of wealth in the political arena must be to bring a more highly educated opinion, on the average, to bear on the discussion of internal affairs and the modelling of legislation; a result which could be productive of nothing but unmixed good and progressive national development.

Proposed reform is within the sphere of practical politics.

The modifications of modern electoral systems herein proposed have, as a motive power sufficient to bring them within the sphere of practical politics, the augmentation of revenue that would certainly result from the sale of power; the disposal of its expenditure being, of course, with the party supporting the new policy, who would consequently be in a more favourable position to carry out their programmes of reform than their opponents, since forced contributions to the State could be levied to the same extent by either side.

Section XVI.

Machinery required for the establishment of the proposed system.

The machinery required for the registration of purchased votes need be neither complicated nor expensive—a local office in each municipal district, and a central account office in which all local registers would be checked, and the receipts shown by them adjusted for submission to the treasury, would suffice. The number of votes sold in a particular district would necessarily be checked, as a total, by the payments made to the central office, while security against the substitution and wrongful cancellation or suppression of individual votes and payments, could be attained by the issue to the purchaser of personal non-negotiable voting order-forms, with a separate acknowledgment to the effect that the contribution paid in, had been placed to the credit of a particular nominator. Notices of the receipt of payment would also be sent both to the latter and to the central office.

On the occurrence of an election, municipal or provincial, a voting order-form would, on presentation, be compared with the register, stamped, and returned with its proper equivalent of ordinary vote-forms, which would then be cast by ballot in the ordinary manner.

Voting order-forms, being thus non-negotiable, non-transferable and assignable to a small particular district of issue, should

be completely safeguarded from any political tampering at the same time. Frauds in the local or central offices would be detected through the acknowledgment of payment forwarded by the purchaser to his nominator. The issue of unpaid-for voting order-forms need not be feared, since detection would be inevitable on the analysis of the issue of votes, and their comparison with actual receipts, or *vice versâ*, and, therefore, all that is required would be a penalty sufficiently heavy to deter from such corrupt practices and to secure the purity of the registration staff.

Appendix A.

Problems of the sale of power can best be studied by aid of the 'curve of wealth.' This is constructed by setting off, on a horizontal line, equal distances, at any scale, to represent equal numbers of the electorate, and by drawing vertical ordinates at successive points along this line; the length of an ordinate at any point being proportional to the total yearly income drawn by the individual who is in the order of wealth corresponding to the position of that point in the horizontal abscissa. The locus of the ends of the ordinates remote from the horizontal axis is the 'curve of wealth.'

For example, to illustrate graphically the conditions of the hypothetical community the statistics of which were given for the solution of the equation of equilibrium, at any scale set off 14 equal parts along the abscissa O X, taking each part to represent the number 500,000, and draw the line O Y perpendicular to O X, to represent at any scale the greatest income drawn by any individual in the community. Complete the curve between Y and X′ in accordance with the distribution of wealth in the electorate. The line O′ X′ is to be drawn that height above O X corresponding to the expense incurred by the State in wholly supporting one adult.

Then, it is clear, the area Y O′ X′ Y will represent the total income of the electorate above the value of their maintenance at the minimum standard of living. And, by hypothesis, in the example given, since O′=500,000, the ordinate I A represents the dividing line between the plutocracy and democracy, or the line of average wealth, and its length must be such that the rectangle Z O′ X′ V Z=the area Y O′ X′ Y; and, by reference to the data assumed in the equation of equilibrium, it will be seen that the area Y′ O′ I A Y′ should be a little larger than the area A I X′ A, the total income of the plutocracy and democracy being, respectively, 400 and 390 millions per annum.

At A the value of the vote was either £8, or £20, according to the assumed expenditure on the purchase of political power. At C, the centre point of the abscissa, its value is infinite, since

only that value can there give a political balance between the sections of the electorate on either side. This means that the vote is not purchasable at C, or that C is the point of the existing political equilibrium. At M, any point between I and C, the vertical ordinate will define a different minority; and the value of the vote for that minority can be ascertained by measuring the areas Y' O' M R, and R M X' R, and the lengths of the lines O' M and M X'. For, a certain yearly minimum expenditure being considered sufficient by the State for the healthy maintenance of every citizen, all the excess wealth of individuals above this sum must be assumed to be possibly available for the purchase of power, and, therefore, if x stands for the value of the vote to give equilibrium at any point M,

$$O\,M+\frac{\text{area } Y'\,O'\,M\,R}{x}=M\,X'+\frac{\text{area } R\,M\,X'.}{x}$$

Whence x is deducible.

The assumption made in the Equation of Equilibrium, that the plutocracy and democracy should be calculated to spend only $\frac{1}{20}$ and $\frac{1}{30}$, respectively, of their total income in the purchase of power is thus seen to be arbitrary, and either their whole surplus income above the minimum standard of living should be considered available, or the same fractional part of it for either class, as they cannot be distinguished by any hard-and-fast definition. In fact, it is apparent that a plutocracy may vary in number from one to one less than half the total number of the electorate.

If the position of the ordinate S B is such that the area Y O' S B Y = area B S X' B, all values of x between S and C are real, but between the ordinates S B and O Y imaginary, because both the area Y' O S B Y' becomes less than B S X' B, and the line O S less than S—14, so that no balance is possible. It follows, therefore, that different minorities can be put in a position of possible equality in voting power with the majority by varying the value of the vote between O and ∞. For, as the point of equilibrium approaches S, the value of the vote must be constantly diminished, in order that the excess wealth to the left of the point of division may balance the excess personal votes to the right, and at S, where the wealth-areas on either side are equal, its value must be zero. And whatever the value of the vote may be, a majority of seats in the Representative Chamber could never be obtained by a minority smaller than the number represented by the distance O' S.

If the value of the vote is to be found from the condition that there shall be no diminution in the national revenue what-

ever minority may attain to power, find that area Y′ O′ M R which represents the revenue raised by direct taxation. Then if x be the value of the vote :—

$$\frac{Y' O' M R Y'}{x} + O' M = M X'$$

Whence x can be found.

Here there are two safeguards increasing the extent of the minority ; first, that the whole area Y′ O M R Y′ would not be spent on the purchase of power ; secondly, that, by hypothesis, no account can be taken of the vote purchasing power of the area R M X′ R.

It will be observed that in these equations the electorate is defined between the ordinates at O and X ; to the right of X State-relief must be afforded to all in a greater or less degree. If a proper minimum standard of living is maintained, the restriction of the electorate to those whose income exceeds it is justifiable. Hence, in proportion as a higher minimum standard of living is maintained, the more limited should become the electorate, a result which would necessarily stimulate production, since the desire of all must be to qualify for the right of unit-voting-power. If it is considered inexpedient to disfranchise citizens on this account, the value of the vote should be so regulated as to move the political centre of gravity to that point where it would be if the voting-strength of citizens whose income is below the average were neglected. This point of equilibrium should be that which gives the most productive results under the observance of the law that, if revenue must be raised by direct taxation, the incomes of all should be taxed in the same proportion.

Appendix B.

Let it be supposed that, on a motion for the discussion of some question of Home policy, the House resolves itself into five distinct groups, A, B, C, D, E, formed both of elected and nominated members, in number respectively 400, 300, 100, 50 and 10 ; the total of these groups thus being 860. After each group had selected its leader, their numbers would be noted successively by some scrutinising authority, who, on the completion of the interval allowed for the resolution and attendance of the different groups, would distribute the seating capacity of the House in group proportion. Thus, if there were 670 seats available in the House, to group A would be allotted $\frac{400}{860} \times 670$, or 311 seats, to B, $\frac{3}{4}$ of this, or 233 seats, and so for C, D, and E, 78, 39 and 8 seats respectively. Odd seats might be distributed singly in the succession of numerical majorities ; the odd seat here thus going to group A.

The distribution of the seats among the members of each group would be at the discretion of the group leader, and the discussion of the Bill would then proceed in a House thus constituted.

L. H. CLOSE.

ART. VII.—DEUSSEN'S VEDÂNTA.

INTRODUCTION.

(Continued from No. 203, January 1896.)

III.—WHO IS CALLED TO THE STUDY OF THE VEDÂNTA?

1. THE INDISPENSABLE CONDITION.

THE question, who is admitted to the Vedânta's knowledge of salvation that sets free, and who is excluded from it, is discussed in an episode of the first Adhyâya of the Brahma-sûtras with great fulness (p. 280-323), and the result is, that all those who are reborn *(dvija)* through the Sacrament of the *Upanayana* (the initiation by a teacher, on the solemn investiture with the sacred thread), thus, if they fulfil this condition, all Brâhmaṇas, Kṣhattriyas and Vaishyas, and further also the gods and (departed) Ṛshis are called to the science; that, on the contrary, the Shûdras (belonging to the fourth, non-Aryan, caste) are excluded from it.

2. EXCLUSION OF THE SHUDRAS.

At first it must appear strange that, according to the principle of the Vedânta, the Shûdras are shut out from the path of salvation. Of course birth in a particular caste is not a matter of chance, but the necessary consequence of conduct and works in a former existence; but, as the Vedânta makes no difference between the three higher castes, it was also incumbent on it as a consistent following out of its views (first adopted from Buddhism), to admit the Shûdra too; for he also has a soul, he also is Brahman, and there is no conceivable reason why he also should not become conscious of this, and thus partake of the knowledge that makes free, especially as it is recognised that he is in need of it (p. 315, 11, 317, 3), and further the authorisation of the Shûdra's right to knowledge made by the objector (p. 315, 11) is not contested in its worldly aspect (p. 317, 4), as also his right, admitted by the Smṛti, to partake in the hearing of the *Itihâsas* and *Purâṇas* (the epic and mythological poems) is not denied (p. 322, 14).

But the same accommodation to national prejudices which determines the philosophers of the Vedânta to derive all their knowledge, even by the most tortuous process, from the Veda, makes it also impossible for them to admit the Shûdra; for, as a condition precedent to the investigation of the Vedânta,

is a study of the Veda and a knowledge of its contents (p. 316, 9), for this again, the *Upanayana* (initiation by a teacher), to which the Shûdra cannot attain (p. 317, 2, 320, 6), as the law (*Smṛiti*) further forbids the reading aloud of the Veda, even in the presence of a Shûdra (p. 322, 206).

With this is bound up the discussion of certain cases occurring in the Veda itself, where teaching is apparently imparted to a Shûdra, or man of doubtful caste.

The first is concerned with the *Saṃvarga-vidyâ*, a theory (reminding one of Anaximenes) of *Vâyu* (wind) and *Prâṇa* (breath) as "*Saṃvargâḥ*" (collectivities), on the one hand, of the elements, on the other, of the life-organs, which (Chhând. 4, 1-3) Râikva imparts to Jânashruti, even after he has previously called him a Shûdra.[37]

Concerning this, Shaṅkara reminds us briefly that a single case does not make a rule (p. 317, 9), and that what was right in the case of the Saṃvarga-vidyâ need not therefore be transferred to all other things (p. 318, 1); also both Shûtra and scholion (315, 6 318, 10) affirm that "Shûdra" in the foregoing case is not to be taken in its traditional sense (rûḍhârtha), but in its etymological sense (avayavârtha);

[37] The wording of this legend, which shows in very drastic fashion that the knower of Brahman, be he ever so wretched, stands higher than the richest and best who does not know it, is as follows (Chhând. 4, 1-2): "Jânashruti, the descendant [of Jânashruti] was a faithful dispenser, giving much, cooking much. He had rest-houses built on all sides, that men from all parts might eat with him. Once geese [or flamingoes] flew past in the night. Then spoke one goose to the other: 'Ha there! dim-eyes, dim-eyes [seest thou not] the shining of Jânashruti the descendant is extended like the heaven; approach it not, burn not thyself.' To her the other said: 'Who is he of whom thou speakest, as though he were Râikva of the car!' 'What is this—with Râikva of the car?' 'As [at dice] to him who has won with the kṛta throw [the highest] [or perhaps *vijitâya* from *vi*, cf. Ṛgv. I, 92, 10 *vijaḥ*] the lower throws are also counted with it, so to him [Râikva] comes home all the good the creatures do; and he who knows what he knows, for him also is this true.' This Jânashruti the descendant over-heard. As soon as he rose, he spoke to his steward [who praised him in the way the *Vaitâlikas* were afterwards wont to]: 'Thou speakest [of me] as if I were Râikva of the car.' 'What is this—with Râikva of the car?' 'As to him who has won with the kṛta throw, the lower throws are also counted, so to him comes home all the good the creatures do; and he who knows what he knows, for him also is this true.' Then went the steward forth to seek him. He came back and said 'I have not found him.' He [Jânashruti] spoke to him: 'Go seek him where a *Brâhmana* [pregnant, as Bṛh. 3, 5, 1. 3, 8, 10] is to be sought [in solitude, in the forest, on a sandbank, in the river, in a remote place,—as the scholiast explains].' There sat one under his car, scratching his scabs. To him he made obeisance saying: 'Art thou, worshipful one, Râikva of the car?' 'I am verily he,' he answered. The steward returned and said: 'I have found him.' Then took Jânashruti the descendant six hundred cows, a golden necklace, and a waggon with mules, went to him and said: 'Râikva! here are six hundred cows, here is a golden necklace, here is a waggon with mules, teach me, worshipful one, concerning the Godhead whom thou worshipest.' To him answered the other: 'Ha, ha! for a trinket and a yoke, thou Shûdra! keep them for thyself, with thy cows.' Then took Jânashruti the descendant again a thousand cows, a golden necklace, a waggon with mules and his daughter; he took them, and went to him and said: 'Râikva! here are a thousand cows, here is a golden

namely because Jânashruti, from sorrow (*shu-châ*) at the humiliating speech of the goose, had run to Râikva (*du-drâ-va*) for this reason this Ṛshi, who, through supernatural knowledge, became aware of what happened, and wished to make this evident, called him "*shu-dra*" (!) A subsequent (p. 319-20) direct proof that Jânashruti was a Kṣhattriya, must be stamped as utterly inadequate, so far as it seeks by all kinds of artifices to make it probable that the Abhipratârin mentioned in the Saṃvargavidyâ (Chhând. 4, 3, 5 was a Kṣhattriya,—and therefore also Jânashruti, because he is mentioned in the same Vidyâ (!) Rather is it to be believed, as Shaṅkara brings out at this point, that Jânashruti must have been a Kṣhattriya because he had a steward (*Kṣhattar*) p. 320, 2;—however this may be, the whole zealously prosecuted investigation only proves for us that, for the time of Shaṅkara and also for that of Bâdarâyaṇa, it was by no means held to be self-evident that a man of princely wealth and pomp like Jânashruti, could not have been a Shûdra, which is interesting from the point of view of the history of culture.

A further case is that of the boy Ṣâtyakâma, to whom his mother Jabâlâ declares she cannot tell him from what family (*gotram*) he comes, because in her youth she had had to do with too many; with childlike naiveté, Sâtyakâma (whose name, as M. Müller fittingly observes, means φιλαλήθης) repeats this to the teacher who asks him concerning his family; the teacher finds that only a Brahman can be so sincere, and imparts the knowledge to him as such.[38]

"necklace, here is a waggon with mules, here is a wife, here also is the village in "which thou sittest;—teach me, worshipful one!' Then raised he her face [sunk "in shame] up and said: 'He has taken these [cows]; through this face alone, "Shûdra, hast thou made me speak.'—Those are the [villages] called Râikvaparṇa, "in the country of the Mahâvṛshas where he dwelt for him [at his inducement] "and he spoke to him."

Then follows, in the mouth of Râikva the *Saṃvargavidyâ*, which has, however, not the slightest connection with the foregoing narrative, so that one could substitute for it, quite as suitably, almost any other extract from the Upaniṣhads. Also the systematising at the beginning, the legend of Kâpeya, and Abhipratârin in the middle, with its Triṣhṭubh verses, and the promise "*ya evam veda*" at the conclusion, go to show that here, as so often in the Upaniṣhads, we have to do with two quite independent passages, which were originally ranged together, only, perhaps, because the kṛta throw occurs in both, carelessly united by a later editor, and in later times (cf. by Shaṅkara, p. 1006, 7) expressly maintained to be connected with each other.

[38] *Chhândogya-Upaniṣhad* 4, 4: "Ṣâtyakâma, the son of Jabâlâ, said to his mother: "'Worshipful one, I would enter as a Brahman student; tell me of what fami-"ly I am.' She said to him: 'This I know not, my boy, of what family thou art; "in my youth I went about much as a maid; there I got thee; I myself know not of "what family thou art; my name is Jabâlâ, and thy name is Ṣâtyakâma; so call I "thee [instead of after the father] Ṣâtyakâma, son of Jabâlâ.' Then went he to Hâri-'drumata the Gautama, and said: "I would enter to thee, worshipful one, as "Brahmachâria, deign to accept me, worshipful one!' He said to him: 'From "what family art thou, dear?'—He said: 'That I know not, oh master, from

In this history Bâdarâyaṇa (p. 321,5) and Shaṅkara (p. 321,6) find a confirmation of the rule excluding the Shûdra, because Sâtyakâma is admitted only "after it is decided that he cannot be Shûdra because he spoke the truth" (!—*Satwa-vachanena Shûdratra-abhâve nirddhârite*,—but we might rather conclude from it that in ancient times thought was freer, and that there was a willingness to let the question of Brahmanhood by birth alone, where a Brahmanhood of heart and mind existed.[39]

However this may be, for our authors, the Shûdra, so long as he has not been raised along the path of transmigration to a higher caste,[40] remains entirely excluded from all share in the teaching of salvation. On the other hand the boundary of admission, which is so ungenerously narrowed below, is very generously widened above, so that not only all men of the three Aryan castes, but also the Gods, besides the departed Ṛshis, are called to the study of the freedom-bringing Brahmavidyâ.

3. Admission of the Gods; their role in the Vedânta System.

One would err if one held the being of the Gods (*deva, devatâ*) to be incompatible with the strict monistic teaching of our system of Brahman as the Lord (*îshvara*) the omnipresent (*sarvagata*), the one without a second (*ekam eva adwitîyam*). Far rather, they are as real as the rest of the world: the apparent existence which the latter has, they also have, and the Gods of the Indian popular belief (whose retention was besides already enjoined by the recognition of the *Karma-kâṇḍa* and the *Karma-mîmâṅsâ* cf. above p. [21 ff.]), are as little denied by the Vedânta as the Gods of Greece were by Plato or Epicurus, even if as, in the latter case, they play no particular

what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered me: 'in my youth 'I went about much as a maid; there I got thee; I myself know not of what family 'thou art; my name is Jabâlâ, and thy name is Sâtyakâma' so am I called 'Sâtyakâma, the son of Jabâlâ, oh master.'—He said to him: 'only a Brahman 'can speak so frankly; bring the fuel, dear. [that is necessary to the ceremony], 'I will take thee because thou hast not departed from the truth.'"

In the continuation (Chhând. 4, 5 9) Sâtyakâma is at the cowsheds, first taught concerning the four-fold feet of Brahmans (4 divisions of heaven, 4 parts of the worlds, 4 sources of light, 4 organs of life), in order, by the bull, the fire, the goose and the diver, until he also receives from the teacher the teaching which "brings furthest." In the following extract (Chhând. 4. 10, 15) Sâtyakâma is in his turn teacher of Upakosala, in whose case the supernatural teachings (like the miracles of Elija in the case of Elisha) are repeated.

[39] Cf. for this especially the Upaniṣhad translated in Anquetil Duperron II, 372-377 under the name of "*Tschhakli*" (according to Stenzler's view = Chhâgaleya) and Weber's analysis of it, Ind. Stud. IX, 42-46.

[40] *Chhând.* 5, 10, 7; *Âpastamba-dharmasûtra* 2, 5, 11, 10; *Manu* 10, 65. In our work this one hope for the so severely dismissed Shûdra is, peculiarly enough, nowhere directly declared; *implicitly* it is contained in the so much used passage, Chhând. 5, 10, 7, as also in the Smṛti passage, Bhag. g. 6,45 quoted (p. 1045.7).

rôle, and their casually appearing representations cannot very well be made to agree.

In general the Gods, at whose head Indra is, as a rule, mentioned,[41] are, for our authors, still what they were in the Ṛqveda, personifications of natural forces and natural appearances; and an attempt to dissolve them in the corresponding natural elements[42] is set off in the following way (p. 309, 11): "The "names of the Gods, like *Âditya* and so forth, even if they refer "to light and the rest, require, according to the scripture, the ac- "ceptance of corresponding spiritual beings gifted with *âishvarya* "(masterful power) [the elements]; for they are thus used in "the Mantras and Brâhmaṇas; and the Gods have, in virtue of "their *âishvarya*, the power of remaining as the Self (âtman) of "light and the rest, or, according to their pleasure, of taking "this or that individuality (*vigraha*); for the scripture says, in "explaining the *Subbramaṇyâ*-formula [ṣhadvinsh-br. 1, 1]: "'*O ram of Medâtithi*,'—*that is as ram he* [Indra, as Shaṅkara adds] *once stole Medâtithi, the branch of Kânva*; and, as the Smṛti relates [Mahâbh. 1, 4397], who, Âditya, as a man 'visited Kuntî; also the earth and the rest have, according to 'the scriptures, spiritual overseers, for it is said [Shatap. 'Br. 6, 1, 3, 2. 4] '*the earth said*'—'*the waters said*'; and, 'even if the natural elements, as the light, in the sun, and so "on, are without spirit, still they have, according to the teach- "ings in the Mantras and Brâhmaṇas, God-like beings as their "spiritual overseers."

As such "overseers" and "disposers," the Gods do duty especially in the life-organs (p. 186, 6: *devatâ-âtmâ indriyasya adhiṣhthâtṛ́*, p. 728, 9: *Karaṇânâm niyantṛiṣhu devatsu*), in which they enter according to Ait. 1, 2, 4, *Agni* as speech, *Vâya* as breath, *Âditya* as eye, and so on (p. 423, 14); for, even if the organs in themselves are capable (*shakta*) of doing their own work, yet only like a cart, which still must be drawn by an ox

[41] *Indra-âdayaḥ* p. 281, 8, 9. 282, 5, 7 287, 4, etc. From quite a different circle of representations came the quite sporadically occurring *Hiraṇyagarbhâdaya. îshvaraḥ*, who at the disappearance of the world do not disappear like the other Gods and beings, but, as it seems, only pass the time in sleep, and at the new appearance of the world, help the *îshvara*; p. 300, 3. 4. 9 301, 1. 303 9; cf. *Hiraṇyagarbha* as *prathamaja* p. 339, 3, as *Adyakṣha* in the lower world of Brahma p. 1121, 13; *mahân* as *Hairaṇyagarbhî buddhiḥ* p. 343, 3; *sarva-karaṇa âtmani Hiraṇyagarbhe brahmaloka nivâsini* p. 247, 6; *samashṭi-vyashṭi-rupena Hâiraṇyagarbheṇa prâṇâtmanâ* 724, 8; and the (*râja*) – *Vâivasvata-âdaya' îshvaraḥ* p. 397, 8.

[42] (P. 307, 4). "The disk of light dwelling in the heaven, which lightens the "world, mightily dividing day and night, to this [and the other natural appearances "corresponding] apply the words of the scriptures which speak of Gods as *Âditya* "[the sun-god] and the like, as the ordinary use of the word, as also the consistent "sense of the scriptures shows; and it is not fitting to ascribe to the light-disk "individuality (*vigraha*) with a heart and the rest, spirituality and needs and the "like, as it is clear that, like the earth and the rest, they are without spirit (*chetana*). "This holds good also for Agni [Fire and God of fire] and the others.

(p. 727, 1); yet the Gods do not therefore take part in the enjoyment [and suffering] which is the share of the individual soul only in the body (p 727, 13;—the Gods are only *bhoga-upa-Karaṇa-bhûta*, the soul alone is *bhoktar*, enjoyer, p. 379, 4), it alone is stained by good and bad, affected by pleasure and pain (p. 728, 3), while the Gods are free from evil (p. 728, 6); as also at death they do not wander forth with the life organs and the soul, but withdraw their assisting power (p. 745, 8). on the one hand, in order to hold intercourse with the departed (passing over) on the moon (p. 750, 5), on the other, to point the way through the different heavenly regions, to the soul entering into Brahman (p. 1117, 11).

Further, the Gods dwell in the highest region of sovereignty (*parasuim Aishvarye pade* p. 728, 4), but all the *Aishvarya* is dependent on the *Parameshwara* (p. 217, 7). the "highest lord," that is Brahman: this is the *Atman* (the self), as in everything else, so also in the Gods (*Atmâ devânâm* Chhând. 4, 3, 7); it is the *Antaryâmin* (inner ruler), which, according to Brh. 3, 7. inwardly rules all beings, all organs, and so also all Gods without their being conscious of it themselves, being for that reason, in this sense, different from their empiric self (*devatâtman*) p. 196, 3). The *Ishvara* (Lord), as Brahman is called by preference in these exoteric discussions, is further the power that moulds Gods, men and beasts, at the same time guided accurately by the merit and guilt of the soul, in a previous existence (p 492 12), and in accordance with this, has destined animals to unending suffering, men to a middle condition, and the Gods to "unending enjoyment" (p. 491, 6). But this "unending enjoyment," like everything outside Brahman, comes at last to an end; the immortality of the Gods is a relative (*Apekshika* p. 326, 4. 241, 14) one and means only a long continued existence (p. 193, 12); they are also caught in *Saṃsâra* (the circle of transmigration), are mere products (*vikâra* p. 195, 13. 280, 3) doomed to transitoriness and necessity; for, as the scripture (Brh. 3, 4, 2) says: "whatever is separated from that is subject to sorrow" (p. 241, 15), for on this is found the calling of the Gods also to the knowledge that sets free, as we shall now consider more closely.

It is next to be stated that the Gods are nowhere in the scriptures excluded from Brahmavidyâ (p. 281, 1). They have, it is true, no part in the Upanayanam (initiation by a teacher), but they do not require this; for the aim of this ceremony is merely admission to the study of the Veda, which is of itself open to the gods (*svayaṃ pratibhâta*) (p. 281, 3). Further, there are even instances of gods and Ṛshis becoming Brahman pupils, like Indra with Prajâpati (Chhând. 8, 7-12) and Bhṛgu with Varuṇa (Tâitt. 3, 1). In the Gods also in their hearts (ac-

cording to Kâṭh 4, 12) dwells the *Puruṣha* (Brahman)" a thumb's breadth in height," to the end of knowledge,—naturally in the case of the gods, we are to understand the breadth of a God's thumb (p. 282, 1).

Further, however, the Gods are capable of liberation, because, according to the witness of the Mantras, Brâhmaṇas, Itihâsas, Purâṇas and popular belief, they possess individuality (*vigrahavattvam*) (p. 280, 9), and are in need of it, because their power (*vibhûti*) belongs to the province of the transitory, and is, therefore, destined to pass away (p. 280, 7).

But against these two decisions very difficult thoughts are now raised. First objection : The asserted individuality of the gods, says the opponent, is neither real nor possible. It is not real, because, although the gods are present when sacrifices are offered to them, they are not perceived (p. 282, 7), and it is not possible, because individuality cannot be in several places at the same time, but the gods can, since Indra, for instance, is often recipient of offerings in several places at the same time (p. 282, 8).

To this it is to be rejoined : The gods are not seen at sacrifices, because they have the power to make themselves invisible (p 284. 5), and they can be in several places at the same time, because they are able to apportion their being (*âtman*) in different forms (p. 284, 4) ; for if even the *Yogin*, according to the *Smṛti* (Mahâbhârata 12, 11.062), can multiply his body a thousand-fold, in order to enjoy the things of sense in one form, and to undergo frightful mortifications in another (p. 283, 9), how much more the gods, who, according to one Vedic passage (Bṛh. 3, 9, 1), are first counted as 303 and 3,003, then as 3,306, and then as only 33, with the explanation that the greater number indicates only their powers (*mahimânas*), as the 33 are again reduced to one only, since the being of them all is *Prâṇa*, the Life (that is, here, Brahman) (p. 283).

Second Objection : If the gods are, like ourselves, individuals, they must also, like ourselves, be born and die ;[48] now the Veda is eternal (in the spirit of the Creator, who "breathed it out" as the Vedânta affirms, p. 48, 6 after Bṛh. 2, 4, 10), and the Veda speaks of the gods. How is this possible if the gods are not also eternal (p. 285, 8) ?

This objection forces the composer of the commentary, and,

[48] P 285, 7 ; a quite correct deduction, which is also not contested by Shaṅkara, more, is in another place expressly stated by him (p. 598, 11 : *yadd hi loke iyattâ parichchhinnam vastu ghaṭa-âdi, stad antavad dṛshṭam)* with a profound feeling that what is limited in space must be so in time also ; of which the sole exception, perhaps is matter (that is) if its quantity in space is limited, (which we do not know), which, however, as such, is an abstraction without individual existence. Among the Greeks this thought was expressed by Melissos, ap. Simplic. in Aristot. Phys. fol. 23 b : *οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνυστὸν, ὅτι μὴ πᾶν ἐστι.*

perhaps, even the composer of the Sûtras (cf. 1, 3, 30), to a very remarkable theory, which comes very close to Plato's teaching as to ideas; and, as we have no ground at all for supposing that either side has borrowed from the other, bears witness to the fact that there is something tending towards Plato's teaching in the nature of things, and to lead to which the teaching of the Indian can be of help.

Of course, he says, the individual Gods are transitory, and the word of the Veda, which speaks of them, is eternal; but the words of the Veda, for instance, the word "cow" occurring in the Veda, does not refer to individuals (to any separate cow), but "to the idea of the word, cow and the like" (*shabda-artha* p. 286, 6), that is, to the species; and in just the same way the word "Indra" means, not an individual, but a determined position (*sthâna-vishesha*), something like the word "General;" whoever occupies the position, bears the name (p. 287, 5).

Therefore we must make a difference in things between individuals (*vyakti*, p. 286, 7, and also p. 464, 5, literally: "appearance," "manifestation"), which are transitory, and species (*âkṛti*, that is "form," "εἶδος,") which are eternal; p. 286, 7: "For when the individuals, as cows and the like, come into existence, yet their species do not thereby come into existence; for in substances, qualities and activities come into being the individual appearances (*vyakti*), not the forms of the species (*âkṛti*), and only with the species, not with the individuals are the words [of the Veda] bound up, for with the latter, on account of the eternity [of the Veda], a binding up cannot be admitted. Therefore, when the individuals come into existence, the species, in words like cow and the like, are eternal; therefore there is no contradiction; in just the same way there is no contradiction in the case of names [of the gods] like Vasu and the like, because the species of the gods are eternal, even when a coming into being is admitted for the individuals."

These eternal species of things, as they are stored up in the Veda as the enduring treasury of all wisdom and knowledge, are, however, for our author not mere forms (*âkṛti*, εἶδος), but the conception of them is transformed, exactly as in Plato (Soph. p. 247 D. ff.) into that of the efficient powers (*shakti*, δύναμις), from which the universe, after its disappearance, ever comes forth anew; p. 303, 1: "This world in truth disappears, but in such fashion that its powers remain, and these powers are the root from which it comes forth anew; for otherwise we would have an effect without a cause. Now it cannot be asserted that the powers [from which the world comes forth anew] are different in kind [from those from which

it formerly came forth]. Therefore it must be granted that, in spite of the constantly repeated interruption [of the course of the world] for the [newly] developing series of worlds,[44] as the earth and its like, for the series of groups of living beings, gods, animals and men, and for the different conditions of castes, Âshramas, duties and rewards, there is in the beginningless Saṃsâra a necessary determination (*niyatatvam*), like the necessary determination in the correlation of the [five] sense-organs with the [five] elements: for also in the case of these, we cannot conceive of the possibility, for the existing creation, of a difference, as if there should be a sixth sense-organ and element.[44] While the tendency in all world-periods (*Kalpa*) is similar and allows itself [in a new creation] to be guided according to the tendency in the former world-period, so at the creation of the creators [*îshvarâḥ* cf. remark 41] differences of the same name and form appear, and in consequence of the likeness of name and form it happens that, even if one holds to a return of the world by means of a collective evolution and a collective disappearance, yet the authority and so forth of the word of the Veda suffers no injury."

Thus the word of the Veda, with its whole complex of representations of the world and its relations, forms an eternal rule of guidance for the Creator, outlasting every disappearance of the world. The Creator "remembers," while he shapes the worlds, the words of the Veda (p 297, 10), and thus the world comes into being with its constant forms (*niyatâkṛti*) as the gods and the rest, from the word of the Veda (p. 298, 2). Naturally this coming forth of the gods and the rest from the Veda is not, like evolution from Brahman, to be taken in the sense of a *causa materialis* (*upâdâna-kâranam*), but it means only "a coming forth of the individuals of things in conformity with the use of the word of scripture" (*shabda-vyavahâra-yogya-artha-vyakti-niṣhpattiḥ*, p. 287, 9), which was there before the world, not only according to the witness of scripture and tradition (p. 288), but also because it is the necessary antecedent supposition to the creation: for if one wishes to make anything, one must first call to mind the word that indicates it (p. 289, 3), and thus also before the creation the Vedic words were manifest in the spirit of the Creator, and, according to their measure, he shaped all things (p. 289, 5).

[44] p.303, 7: *Ṣhaṣhṭha-indriya-viṣhaya*; in the same way, as an example of impossibility p. 415, 1: *Ṣhaṣhṭhasya iva indriya-arthasya*. Of other scholastic examples, to indicate impossibility, there occur in our work: *bandhyâ-putra* (the son of an unfruitful woman) p. 570. 12 and *shasha-viṣhanam* (hare's horn) p. 564, 1.4.8. 565, 7. cf. p. 332, 8: *sa prâchîm apudisham prasthâpitaḥ pratîchîm apidisham pratiṣhṭheta* (for "for him all things are possible"); the same image as Xenoph. Memorab. 4, 2, 21.

But what are we to understand by "word" in this world-creating sense (p. 289,9)?—Perhaps we might answer: the conceptions of words. But this answer the Indian cannot give, because he never reached a conscious separation of conception and concept. He answers briefly: By word he understands[45] here *Sphoṭa* (the bursting forth, the sudden coming to consciousness of the representation on hearing the letters of the word); and this conception leads to a discussion which is not without interest, and which, as a contribution to the Philosophy of Language, we shall translate as accurately as possible [in an appendix].

[45] Who? is not said. It is the opponent, but not Shaṅkara, as Cowell asserts in Colebr. M. E.[2] p. 373 remark 1; what he brings forward is only the *Pûrva-pakṣha*, not the *Siddhânta*, which *Upavarṣha* afterwards defends; probably Shaṅkara took the whole discussion from his commentary (cf. remark 17).

IV. QUALIFICATIONS OF THOSE CALLED TO THE STUDY OF THE VEDÂNTA

1. THE STUDY OF THE VEDA.

An indispensable condition of our science, the impossibility of fulfilling which in the case of the Shûdra, as we saw, (p. [63 ff.]) excluded him from the teaching of salvation, is the study of the Veda, and this requirement, or at least the appearance of it, seems to have been ever more exaggerated with the passage of time. Thus it is said in *Sadânanda's Vedântasâra*, a later compendium of the Vedânta teaching, § 5 : "He who is called to the study must have regularly studied the Veda and the Vedâṅgas (that is, the six subsidiary sciences of the Veda : sound, grammar, etymology, metre, ritual and astronomy, as they are already enumerated Muṇḍ. 1, 1, 5) so, that he may be able to understand the full sense of the Veda *ex tempore (âpâtataḥ)*,"—a requirement which, what with the extent of the Veda[46] and the great difficulty of many Vedic texts, in the strict sense of the word no one except Brahmán can have fulfilled, while men must have satisfied themselves, in the case of each hymn, with imprinting accurately on their memories, for instance, the metre, poet, deity and ritual purpose, and at the same time, perhaps, also understanding something of the sense.[47] Of such exaggerations we find no trace in Shaṅkara : he contents himself with simply indicating the study of the Veda and a knowledge of its contents as an indispensable condition (p. 24, 4. 316, 9) ; what he actually presupposes by this, is, overlooking the casual quotations of other Vedic texts (cf. p. 34), hardly more than an accurate knowledge of the eleven older, or, as we might almost say, of the genuine Upaniṣhads (*Aitareya* and *Kâushîtaki ; Chhândogya* and *Kena* ; *Taittirîya*, *Kâṭhaka*, *Shvetâshvatara* and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* besides *Îshâ* ; *Muṇḍaka* and *Prashna*), with quotations from which he everywhere very liberally surrounds himself ; generally quoting only the opening words with the "and the rest" which is unfortunately so common in Indian texts, and which sometimes slips from him even where there is nothing more to follow (cf. p. 269, 4), and greatly injures the precision of presentation. As we cannot in general

[46] There is no question of a limitation to one's own *shâkhâ* (cf. p. 979, 4 : *samastaveda-artha vijñânavataḥ*), and one would also not include all the Upaniṣhad texts presupposed by the Vedânta.

[47] Cf. Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. p. 20, and in our work the quotation from the *Ârṣheya-brâhmana* p. 3 : "For whoever employs a hymn for sacrifice or study without knowing the Ṛshi, Metre, Godhead, and ritual use of it, knocks against the trunk of a tree, or falls into a pit."

assume in our readers such an acquaintance with the Upaniṣhad texts as the Indian could in his, we shall interweave in our presentation an anthology embracing a series of the most beautiful and important passages of the Upaniṣhads, even if we do not select them according to a standard of our own, but in accordance with the texts of the scriptures employed by Bâdarâyaṇa and Shaṅkara.[48]

[48] The most important part of what has already been done for the Upaniṣhads, excepting editions of texts (by Roer, Weber, Cowell, Poley and others) is as follows: Anquetil Duperron, *Oupnek'hat*, Argentorati 1801-1802, a Latin translation of 50 Upaniṣhads from the Persian in which Sultan Daraschakoh, 1656 A.D., had had them translated, contains: Vol. I., p. 15 *Tschchandouk*, 90 *Brehdaranj*, 294 *Mitri*, 375 *Mandek*, 395 *Eschavasieh*, 400 *Sarb*; Vol. II. p. 1 *Naraïn*, 5 *Tadiw*, 12 *Athrbsar*, 27 *Hensnad*, 35 *Sarbsar*, 68 *Kok'henk*, 94 *Sataster*, 128 *Porsch*, 152 *Dehian band*, 157 *Maha oupnek'hat*, 162 *Atma pra boudeh*, 165 *Kioul*, 171 *Schat roudri*, 197 *Djog Sank'ha*, 200 *Djogtat*, 204 *Schiw Sankalp*, 207 *Abrat (athrb) Sak'ha*, 213 *Atma*, 217 *Brahm Vadia*, 221 *Anbrat Vandeh*, 229 *Tidj Bandeh*, 232 *Karbheh*, 241 *Djabal*, 249 *Maha Naraïn*, 266 *Mandouk*, 271 *Pankl*, 274 *Tschehourka*, 279 *Pramhens*, 286 *Arank*, 291 *Kin*, 299 *Kionni*, 328 *Anaubli*, 338 *Bharkbli*, 346 *Bark'heh soukt*, 351 Djounka, 355 *Mrat lankoul*, 358 *Anbrtanad*, 366 *Baschkl*, 372 *Tschhakli*, 378 Tark, 380 Tark, 380 *Ark'hi*, 387 *Pranow*, 403 *Schavauk*, 412 *Nersing'heh atma*; for the corresponding Sanskrit names see below. A German translation of this translation of a translation has, as I hear, recently appeared. Rammohun Roy, Translation of several principal books, passages and texts of the Veds, ed II., London 1832 (contains *Muṇḍaka*, *Kena*, *Kaṭhaka*, *Îshâ*) —Colebrooke, Misc. Ess.[1] I, p. 47-54 62-71. 76 79. 83-88. 91-98 110-113. F. W. Windischmann, Sancara, Bonnae 1833, p. 49-186. The same in his father's "Philosophie im Fortgange der Weltgeschichte," Bonn. 1832-34, p. 1388- 0. 1448 49. 1540-1585-91. 1595-98. 1613-23. 1655-60. 1673-76. 1689 1719. 1737-40. Poley, *Kâṭhaka Oupanichat* (besides *Muṇḍaka*) translated into French, Paris 1837.—Roer, the *Taittiriya*, *Aitareya*, *Shvet-âshvatara*, *Kena*, *Îshâ*, *Kaṭha*, *Prashna*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Mâṇḍûkya* Upaniṣhads, translated, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1853.—The same, the Bṛhadâraṇyaka, Up., transl. Calc. 1856.—Râjendralâla Mitra, the Chhândogya Up., transl. Calc. 1862.—Cowell, the *Kâuṣhitaki* brâhmana upaniṣhad, ed. with an Engl. Transl. Calc. 1861.—The same, the *Maitri* Up., Calc. 1870.—A Weber, Analyse der in Anquetil Duperron's Uebersetzung enthaltenen Upaniṣhad, Ind. Stud. I, p. 247- 302. 380-456 II 1-111. 170-266 IX, 1-173. Berl. 1849. 1853. Leipz. 1865; the only treatment of the material existing up to the present. An index (wanting in the Ind. Stud.) is added here for more convenient consultation:

Vol. I: p. 254 *Chhândogya*, 273 *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, 273 *Maitrâyaṇi*, 279 *Muṇḍaka*, 298 *Îshâ*, 301 *Sarvopaniṣhatsâra*, 380 *Nârâyaṇa*, 381 *Tadeva*, 382 *Atharvashiras*, 385 *Haṅsaṇâda*, 387 *Sarvasâra*, 392 *Kâuṣîtaki*, 420 *Shvetâshvatara*, 439 *Prashna*; *Vol.* II, p. 1 *Dhyânavindu*, 5 *Mahâ*, 8 *Âtma-prabodha*, 9 *Kâivalya*, 14 *Shatarudriyam*, 47 *Yogashikṣhâ*, 49 *Yogatattva*, 51 *Shivasaṁkalpa*, 53 *Atharvashikhâ*, 56 *Âtma*, 57 *Brahmavidyâ*, 89 *Amṛtavindu*, 65 *Garbha*, 71 *Jâbâla*, 78 *Mahânârâyaṇa*, 100 *Mâṇḍûkya*, 170 *Ṣhâkalya* (?) 170 *Kshurikâ*, 173 *Paramahaṅsa*, 176 *Aruṇika*, 181; *Kena*, 198 *Kâṭhaka*, 207 Ananda Valli (—Tâitt. 2), 230 *Bhṛguvallî* (—Tâitt 3) *Vol.* IX, p 1. *Pura-Ṣhaṣûkta*, 10 *Çhûlikâ*, 21 *Mṛtu lâṅgûla* (?), 46 *Târaka*, 48 *Arṣheya* (?), 49 *Praṇava*, 52 *Shâunaka* (?), 53 *Uṛsiṅha*.—The same Die. *Vajra Sûchî* des Ashvaghoṣha, Berl. 1860.—The same, Die *Râmatapanîya* Up. Berl. 1864.—The same, Ind. Litt. 2, p. 54-57. 77-81. 103. 106-109. 139-154. 170-190.—A E. Gough, The Philosophy of the Upaniṣhads, Calcutta Review CXXXI, 1878-1880.—P. Regnaud, Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Philosophie de l'Inde; Paris 1876 78; cf. Weber's Recension des ersten Teiles, Jenaer Litter.-Z. 1898 Nr, 6 p. 81 ff.—F. Max Müller, The Upaniṣhads, translated, part I, Oxford 1879, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 1); the first volume includes the Introduction and *Chhândogya*, *Kena*, *Aitareya*, *Kâuṣhitaki*, *Îshâ*.

2. The Four Requirements.

As further conditions for the study of the Vedânta, Shaṅkara mentions (p. 28, 3), in conformity with the Vedântasâra, the four requirements which we shall now consider more closely.

1. The first is "discerning between eternal and non-eternal substance" (*nitya-anitya-vastu-viveka*), in which by eternal substance Brahman is meant, and by non-eternal, every thing else. As this discernment in the full sense of the word is really the last result of our science, we are to understand by it here, where it appears as condition precedent, only the general metaphysical foundation in virtue of which one has a consciousness of an unchanging being, in contrast with the changeableness of all worldly things and relations; in this sense the said condition of the Vedânta agrees exactly with the question with which Plato begins his exposition of metaphysics, and which also pre-supposes the consciousness of the same difference: '*τί τὸ ὂν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν ἀεί, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε*" (Tim., p. 27D).

(2.) The requirement which Shaṅkara, and (better, because without *artha*) Sadânanda, mention in the second place, gives us a high conception of the earnestness of Indian thought: "Renunciation of the enjoyment of reward here and in the other world" (*iha-amutra* [*artha*] *phala-bhoga-virâga*). Only as far as we pursue philosophy without the consciousness of following material aims at the same time, only so far do we pursue it worthily and rightly,—and he only may hope to find an explanation of the highest questions of being who has learned to raise himself above all hopes and longings of the heart to pure objectivity of spirit.

(3.) There is more doubt about the third requirement, as which Shaṅkara gives "the attainment of the [six] means, peace, restraint, and the rest (*shama-dama âdi sâdhana-sampad*). This is based on a passage in the Bṛh. Up., where, at the end of a wonderfully fine description of the *akâmyamâna*, that is, the man who already in this life, through the power of knowledge, has reached freedom from all desires, it is said in conclusion (Bṛh. 4, 4, 23: "Therefore he who "knows this is peaceful, restrained, resigned, enduring and "collected; only in the self he sees the self, he beholds all as "the self (the soul, *âtman*); evil vanquishes him not, he "vanquishes evil; evil consumes him not, he consumes evil; "free from passion and free from doubt, he becomes a Brâh-"maṇa, he whose world is Brahman." Fitting as all this is when said of the saint who has overcome the world, is it strange when the Vedântists, relying on the passage, enumerate

the possession of the following six means as conditions precedent to knowledge :—

1.	*Shama*	Tranquillity.
2.	*Dama*	Restraint.
3.	*Uparati*	Resignation.
4.	*Titikshâ*	Endurance.
5.	*Samâdhi*	Collectedness.
6.	*Shraddhâ*	Faith.

The explanation of this conception by Shaṅkara (on Bṛh. l. c.), Govindânanda and Sadânanda, with numerous divergencies, in detail, amounts to the same thing, that collectively, under No. 4, they understand an apathy towards contraries like heat, cold, and the rest; in the sense of the Stoics, under Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, on the other hand, an inner concentration along with a full withdrawal of the senses from the objects of the outer world. Neither of these will fit the picture that we make for ourselves of the true philosopher to-day. In contrast to the Stoic sages (whose model was certainly not Heraclitus, the actual father of the Stoic teaching), we imagine the philosophic genius as a profoundly excitable, nay, even passionate nature; and, along with all connection and meditation, we shall demand from him, as from the empiric investigator, a full giving of himself up to the visible world and its wonderful phenomena, only that he must see them with other eyes than the empiric does, in a word, to use an expression of Plato's Scholia in Ar. ed. Brand., p. 66 B 48), not only with the eye which sees the ἵππος, but also with that which sees the ἱππότης. Just as little will the requirement demanded from the pupil under No. 6 recommend itself to us, since we have learnt from Descartes that the beginning of wisdom consists in this, *de omnibus dubitare.*

(4.) As fourth and last requirement for the study of the Vedânta, Shaṅkara and Sadânanda name *Mumukshutvam,* "the longing for liberation." And rightly, too. For he who enjoys the day of life with childlike, with Hellenic, cheerfulness, however high a flight his spirit may take in other things, will only touch and pass the last and highest problems of being, as did the Greeks; in order to seize them fully and clearly, is required a deep satiety of the poverty and nothingness of all this life, and an answering longing to pass "*from non-being* "*to being, from the darkness to the light, from death to im-*"*mortality*" (Bṛh. 1, 3. 28), a longing by which, as the passage quoted leads us to believe, the Indians were penetrated even in antiquity, and which remained the true motive principle of their philosophy, so that, even in exceptions, the question of liberation forms the corner-stone of all the philosophic systems of India.

3. Attitude of the System to that of Justification by Works.

The already enumerated qualifications of the elect are, according to Shaṅkara, the only ones which are indispensable. As soon as (*anantaram*) they are fulfilled, the investigation of Brahma 'can begin (p. 29, 4); and it is not necessary that the investigation of duty," that is, the study of the Mîmâṅsâ of Jâmini (cf. above p. 21), should precede it (p. 28, 4); for rather it may just as well follow as go before (p. 25, 1), since the contents and aim of the two systems are independent; the investigation of duty demands, as was shown (on p. 27), observance; refers to a future dependent on the deeds of men, and has, as its fruit, *abhyudaya* (well-being happiness, as well transitory in heaven, as also earthly in a future birth), but the investigation of Brahman, on the contrary, has as its fruit *nihshreyasam* (literally: *quo nikil melius, summum bonum*), that is, liberation; it refers to an immemorial being, not dependent on the deeds of men; it does not command, like the other, but only teaches, "as if, in teaching concerning any thing, it is brought before the eyes" (p, 28, 1, cf. 818, 7); therefore are all imperatives, even if they are taken from the scriptures, when directed to the knowledge of Brahman, as blunt as a knife with which one would cut a stone (p. 76, 3); therefore also all the commands of the scripture, that we should investigate Brahman, have only the significance that they turn the thoughts from their natural tendency towards outward things (p. 76, 6) and the egoistic aims bound up with them (p. 76, 7), through which the eternal goal of mankind is not reached (p. 76, 8), and, by their direction, guide them towards the inner soul, in order then to teach them about the existence of the soul (p. 77); as also further, for him who knows Brahman, all commands and ordinances are no longer in force: "for this is our ornament and pride (*alamkâra*), that after the knowledge of the soul as Brahman all obligation of action ceases, and fulfilment of the aim begins" (p. 77, 7).

However freely, as is visible in these quotations, our science raises itself above the whole legal system with which the Brahmans had been able to fetter the spirit of the Indian peoples, yet it hardly ventures at all to carry this into practice. Only for him who has won the knowledge of Brahman, also we shall further on see more in detail, does all law cease[49]; but, as long as this point is not reached, the four *Âshramas*, or stages of practice in which, according to Brahmanical law, the

[49] P. 1007, 1: "For knowledge [alone] is the cause through which the goal of man is reached; therefore, after this goal has been gained through knowledge, the works of the *Âshramas*, such as kindling the fires and the rest, are not [further] to be observed."

life of each twice-born has to traverse the steps of Brahman—pupil, householder, hermit and beggar (p. 15 ff.), along with the works prescribed in them, remain in force (p. 1008, 5): 'For [only] full-grown knowledge ordains nothing more be-"sides for the perfecting of its fruit [liberation]; yet it "certainly ordains other things, in order that it may thereby "grow. Why? Because of the passage of scripture which "speaks of sacrifice, and so forth. For thus says the scripture "(Bṛh. 4, 4, 22): 'To know this [the highest spirit] the Brah-"mans seek, by reading the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by "mortifications, by fasts;' and this scripture shows that "sacrifice and the rest are a means of knowledge; and, as it "is therein said, they seek to know, therefore this limits "them to this,—a means for the growth [of knowledge]." In the same way, by the passages Chhând. 8. 5, 1, Kâṭh. 2, 15 and others it is "shown that the works of the *Âshramas* are a means of knowledge" (p. 1009, 4). Their difference from the means, tranquillity and the rest, enumerated above, consists only in this that the latter continue even for those who have gained knowledge, and thereby form the more immediate (*pratyâsanna*) means, while sacrifice and the rest are to be considered as the external (*vâhya*) means, since they exist only for those who are striving after knowledge (p. 1012 4). These external means, sacrifices, gifts mortifications, fastings, are to be followed by every one with the exception of those who have reached knowledge, whether desiring liberation or not (p. 1017, 9); in the latter case the objection to fulfil them lasts the whole life, in the former, for a time only (p. 1019, 2), since they are only helpful in gaining knowledge, but, once it is gained, become superfluous For thus teaches the scripture (p. 1008, 9. 1019, 4), as it then also shows how he who possesses the means of Brahma-scholarship, and the rest, will not be overcome by afflictions (*klesha*), such as love [and hate] (p. 1021, 3.). Wherein further their collaboration towards knowledge consists, is not more definitely determined; according to p. 1044, 4, they are to collaborate towards the knowledge which arises from the study of the scriptures, in this, that they destroy the hindrances which may prevail along with them; these hindrances consist in this, that other works of a former birth may come to ripeness, whose fruit may be hostile to knowledge; if the power of the stated means be the stronger, it countervails the other fruits of works, and knowledge is gained (p. 1043, 4); but if, on the other hand, the hindrances are stronger, the pious practices, in virtue of the metaphysical power (*atîndriyâ shaktiḥ*) which dwells in them, as in all works (p. 1044, 1), bring forth knowledge in the next birth, in which, as was the case, for instance, with *Vâmadeva* (Ait. Up. 2, 5.

Bṛh. 1, 4, 10), it may exist even from the mother's womb (p. 1044, 10).

But how stands it with those who, on account of wretched circumstances, lack of means and the like, cannot fulfil the religious duties of the *Âshramas*, and thus stand, as it were, in the middle,[50] between the twice-born and the Shûdras (p. 1021, 8)? They also, thus declares the answer, as is seen, for instance, in the case of *Râikva* (cf. above remark 37), are called to the science (p. 1022, 1), although it is better to live in the *Âshramas* (p. 1024, 2); for those whose condition is wretched, we must admit that, either on the ground of ordinary human practices, such as repetition of prayers, fasts, worship of the gods (p. 1023, 1), or also in consequence of the works of the *Âshramas* performed by them in a former birth, the grace *(anugraha)* of the science is extended to them (p. 1023, 6). And here we touch a very remarkable conception, concerning which we shall further on try to reach perfect clearness, but the material for which we shall introduce here, in order to direct the reader's whole attention to it.

4. Liberation through "The Grace" of Knowledge.

How is the knowledge that leads to liberation, that is, the recognition of Brahman, begotten in men? To begin with, we must remember that it is not a question of gaining something which we did not possess; to gain it is impossible, since Brahman is actually nothing else than our own self (p. 71, 7). But what have we to do, in order to become conscious of this? This is briefly answered by the passage, p. 69, 7: "The re-"cognition of Brahman is not dependent on the act of man, "but far rather, just like the recognition of an object which is "an object of perception, does this also depend on the object "[that is, on Brahman"]. One must also not think that the recognition of Brahman is an effect of the activity of investigation (p. 69, 10), or of the activity of worship (p. 70, 3); and even the scriptures are its source only so far as they destroy nescience concerning Brahman (p. 70, 7), having then no further significance for the condition of awakening *(prabodha)* (p. 1060, 11); nay (p. 70, 10), all investigation and knowledge, so far as subject and object are thereby separated, is a direct hindrance to the recognition of Brahman, as says the scripture (Kena-Up. 2, 11, in accordance with the Gospel according to Matthew. 11, 25):

> "Who understands it not, he understands,
> "Who understands it, truly knows it not,
> "Unrecognised by those who recognise,
> "And recognised by those who know it not."

[50] *Antara* 3, 4, 36, explained by Shaṅkara as *Antarâle*; if we understand the expression rightly, it means, what we were before (remark 13) not able to conclude certainly from Manu, that the *Âshramas* were obligatory on all three *Dvija* castes.

Under these circumstances, according to the mode of expression of the exoteric, theological teaching, in which the philosophy of our system is framed, the uprising of the recognition and the liberation bound up with it, appears as a grace of God (literally: of the Lord, *îshvara*), as becomes clear from the two passages which we here quote:

P. 682, 3: "For the individual soul, which is impotent, in "the condition of nescience, to distinguish [from the soul] "the aggregate of the organs of activity [appearing as the "body], and is blind through the darkness of nescience, from "the highest soul, the overseer of the work, the onlooker "dwelling in all being, the Lord who is the cause of spirit, "from him, by his permission, comes the Samsâra, consisting "of the conditions of doing and enjoying (suffering), and, through "his grace, as cause, knowledge, and, through this, liberation."

P. 786, 7: "Granted that the soul and God are related as "the part and the whole, yet is it evident that the soul and "God are of different character. How stands it, then, with the "likeness of character of God and the soul? Does it exist, or "does it not?—In truth it exists, but it is hidden; for nescience "hides it. But, although it is hidden, yet, when a creature "thinks on and strives towards the highest God, just as the "faculty of sight in one who has become blind, after the dark-"ness is shaken off by the means of healing in him in whom "the grace of God perfects it, does it become manifest, but "not by nature in any being whatsoever. Why? Because "through him, through God as cause, the binding and loosing "of the soul are accomplished, binding when it does not re-"cognise the existence of God, and loosing, liberation, when "it does. For thus says the scripture (Shvet. 1, 11):

"When God is known, all bondage falls away,
"All torments cease, and with them birth and death;
"And who knows him, goes, on the body's ceasing,
"To freedom and to liberation in."

[51] That in the conception of grace (as in general in the whole apprehension of *Brahman* as *Ishvara*) we have to do only with exoteric personification, which is not to be taken strictly, becomes also clear from the fact that p. 1,023, 9 the *Samskâràh* (moral purifications) are likewise spoken of, personified as *anugrahîtâro vidyâdyâh*, cf. On the teaching of grace, besides the two above quoted chief passages, also p. 662, 1, where the *para âtman* is spoken of as *chakshur-âdi-anavagâhya* and *jñâna-prasâda-avagamya*; to the teaching of creation refers the *parameshvara-anugraha* p. 300, 3. 301, 2. As far as we know, there are no further passages in which the conception of grace occurs.

V.—SOURCE OF THE VEDÂNTA.

I.—General consideration of the Indian Pramanas or Canons of Knowledge.

What are the sources from which we draw our knowledge? This question, of which every philosophy has to give itself an account, meets us in the Indian systems largely in the form of a consideration of the *Pramâṇas*, literally, "measuring-rules," or "normals," of our knowledge; in which, therefore, not the concept of a source from which we draw is the basis, but far rather that of a means of control, by which we are to measure the knowledge already existing in us, and test its correctness, a concept which is explained by the fact that Indian philosophy did not start, as for the most part the Grecian did, from a treatment of being, free of presuppositions, but far more, like the newer philosophy, from the critical analysis and testing of a complex of knowledge handed down (through the Veda.[52]) As such *Pramâṇas*, or canons of knowledge, the systems, as a rule, enumerate: (1) *Pratyakṣha*, also called *dṛshṭa*, the sensuously perceptible, as it is known to us by direct perception; (2) *Anumâna*, "the measuring after" something, inference, by which that part of being which does not fall within direct perception,[53] becomes accessible; we know of it only because the perceptible points to something else, not perceptible, with which it is connected. This connection can be threefold, according as the element to be inferred is either the cause of the element perceived, or its effect, or as, thirdly, the two stand in a relation which does not fall under the conception of causality, for example, in that of analogy.

These two spheres of knowledge, the perceived and the inferred, embrace naturally the whole complex of being. Crude therefore as it is, when the Châvâkas (materialists) will only allow validity to the first, little can any objection be raised, when the Vâisheṣhikas and Bâuddhas (Buddhists) will not go further than these two *pramâṇas*. For it is very strange, when the Sânkhyas and others add to these also (3) *Âptavachana*, that is "right communication," which then, again, according

[52] A real difference consists in this, that the newer philosophy in its basic character, even up to to-day, is a toilsome struggle and gradual shaking off of the fetters of mediæval scholasticism,—while the Indian philosophy during every period has remained the better, the nearer it has adhered to the basis laid down in the Vedic Upanishads. But in truth this basis is also of an eminently philosophical character.

[53] By this is explained the basic proposition of the theory of knowledge, that where *Pratyakṣha* exists, there is no *Anumâna*, p. 657, 9: *pratyakṣhatvâd Anumâna apravṛtteḥ*.

as it is understood, means secular or religious tradition; as the former goes back again to *Pratyakṣha* and *Anumâna*, and the latter is, in philosophy, no proper moment, belonging to the means by which the Sânkhyas and others, with all their heresy, were yet able to keep an appearance of orthodoxy. Through further splitting up of *Anumâna*, not to the advantage of clearnesss, the adherents of the Nyâya reached four, the Mîmâṅsakas of the school of Jâimini six, and yet others even nine Pramâṇas (cf. Colebr. Misc. Ess. p. 240, 266. 303-304 330. 403).

2.—Insufficiency of the Secular Canons of Knowledge.

Like the *Pûrva-mîmâṅsa*, the *Vedânta* also accepts six canons of knowledge, according to Colebrooke (lc p. 330), who appeals for support to the (modern) *Vedântaparibhâshâ*. As far as our Vedânta-sûtras are concerned, there is, neither in the text nor in the Commentary, any discussion of the Pramâṇas at all; far rather, they are everywhere presupposed as well known, and set aside as incompetent for the metaphysics of the Vedânta,[54] while in reality a basic account of the fact that metaphysics attains its contents only through a right use of the natural means of knowledge, is very difficult, and presupposes a greater ripeness of thought than we find in the Vedânta, which helps itself out of the difficulty by the short cut of substituting a theological for the philosophical means of knowledge, as we shall now further show.

As far as Bâdarâyaṇa is concerned, he expresses his rejection of the secular means of knowledge, *Pratyakṣha* and *Anumâna*, with the drastic brevity which characterises him, in this, as we have already remarked (p. [24]), that he uses the two words to indicate something altogether different, namely, the *Shrûti* and *Smṛti*; thus in the Sûtras 1, 3, 28. 3, 2, 24. 4 4, 20 (supposing, naturally, that Shaṅkara has explained them correctly) The Shrûti, therefore, the holy scriptures, in the narrower sense the Brâhmaṇas and Upanishads, but then also the Mantras presupposed by them, that is, hymns and sen-

[54] P. 49, 2: "Only from the canon of scripture as means of knowledge is Brahman known as the cause of the coming into being and [existence and passing away] of the world;" p. 488, 1: "only through the scripture can one plunge into this deepest, highest Brahman; one cannot plunge into it by reflection." Of passages where the *Pramâṇas* are mentioned, we have, besides that to be quoted above, also noted: the *pramâṇâni*, *pratyakṣha âdini* are *avidyâvad viṣhayâni* (p. 17, 3); they are frail (p. 448, 1); are common to us and animals (p. 19, 6); *pratyakṣha* is *rûpa-âdi*, *anumâna*., etc., *linga-âdi* (p. 426, 8. 438 1); of different character is *anubhava*. permissible according to 42, 4, in the investigation of Brahman, cf. 419,2 *anubhava avasânam brahma vijñânam;* the monstrosity of an absolute perception and (subject without object) occurs on p. 671, 2; cf. 96, 5.

tences,[55] are for Bâdarâyaṇa the *Pratyakṣha*; revelation is to him all that can be revealed, needing no further authority. It is otherwise with the *Smṛti*,[56] under which name Shaṅkara quotes testimony from the Sâṅkhya and Yoga systems, from the law-book of Manu, from the Mahâbhârata and Purâṇas, as also from the Vedic Sûtra literature. For while the *Veda*, like the sun, which has its own light, possesses unconditional authority (*nirapekṣham prâmâṇyam* p. 414,6), the *Smṛti* is called *Anumâna* because, as Shaṅkara, p. 287, 11, explains, for its support another basis of authority (*prâmâṇyam*) is necessary. As, namely, the secular *Anumâna* rests on the *Pratyakṣha*, and only has the force of proof so long as it is rightly inferred therefrom, the *Smṛti* also is only so far valid as an authority, as it confirms the Shrûti by its testimony, and completes it by right inference. Therefore it is frequently quoted in confirmation, but not seldom also rejected, as for instance 4, 2, 21 in reference to the departure of the soul, the representations of the *Smṛti* (Bhagavadgîtâ 8, 23) are only so far rejected as they are in contradiction to the *Shrûti* (p. 1109, 5). For the rest Bâdarâyaṇa declares himself—2, 1, 11—as opposed in principle to any possibility of basing the metaphysical verities on the path of reflection (*tarka*), which is commented on by Shaṅkara as follows (p. 435, 11):—"And, therefore, mere reflection (*kevalas tarkaḥ*) must not be raised in opposition in a matter which is to be known by [sacred] tradition (*âgama*; for reflections, which without [sacred] tradition rest only on the speculation (*utprekṣhâ*) of men, go on endlessly, since this speculation is unbridled For this the reflections thought out by some experts after great trouble are recognized by others, still more expert, as [merely] apparent, and those of the latter in the same way by others Therefore one cannot rely on it, that reflections have stability, because the opinions of men are different. But [it may be objected], when there is a man of recognised greatness, a *Kapila* or another, who has made a reflection, one could at least rely on it as well-founded. Even here a sound foundation is lacking, since even the recognised pioneers (*tirthakara*) such as *Kapila*, Kanâda and the like, openly contradict each other." To this the opponent objects: "Yet can one, perhaps, come to a well-founded reflection, since one reflects in different ways, for that there can be no well-founded reflection is in itself a law based on reflection (p. 486,7); because one reflection is false, the other need not also be false; the

[55] Thus, for example, passages of the Rqveda are quoted as scripture p. 208, 13. 212, 1. 304, 4; as against this, *mantra* of the *shrûti* occurs p 308, 4.

[56] As also with the *Âchâra* (p. [25]). cf. p. 990, 1; *Smṛti-âchâra bhyâm na shruteḥ*.

opinion that all reflection is unreliable would make an end of the whole world-tendency resting thereon (p. 436,10)." Reflection, he says, might have in view the consideration of the words of scripture, in order in this way to reach the full truth (p. 437,1); even *Manu* (12,105) recommends, besides the tradition of scripture, perception and inference; and the excellence of reflection is precisely this, that, unbound by previous reflections, in case they are untenable, other reflections may be made (p. 437,7). To this Shaṅkara replies (p. 437,10): "Even though it be presupposed that in many provinces reflection is well-founded, yet, in the province here spoken of, reflection cannot be freed from the reproach of unsoundness; for it is impossible to know at all this profound being of things (bhâva yâthâtmyam), bound up with liberation, without the [sacred] tradition; for this subject does not fall within the province of perception *(pratyakṣha)*, because it is without form and the like, and therefore also not within the province of inference *(anumâna)* and the other [Pramâṇas], because it has no indicative marks [*liṅga*] and the like." Here, as our author further, developes the question, where the full truth and the liberation which results from it—as all admit—are being considered, the subject of knowledge must be of simple form, but the knowledge of it uncontradictable. But reflections do not fulfil these conditions, because they contradict each other, and what the one maintains, another overthrows, and what the latter puts in its place, yet another overthrows (p. 438,9). Besides, the Sâṅkhya system is not at all recognised by everyone as the highest, and in any case it is impossible to bring together all the thinkers of all lands and times, to establish firmly the final truth of reflection among them. But, on the other hand, the Veda, as a source of knowledge, is eternal; its subject stands fast; the full knowledge of it formed therefrom cannot be turned aside by all the reflecters of past, present and future (p. 439,5) By this the full validity of the Upaniṣhad teaching is proved, and by this it is established, "in virtue of the [sacred] tradition and the reflection which follows it" (as was intended to be proved), that the spiritual Brahman is at once the *causa efficiens* and the *causa materialis* of the world (p. 439, 7).

Shaṅkara expresses himself even more strongly in discussing the same point in another place. To the objection that Brahman can only be *causa efficiens* and not also *materialis*, because experience *(loka)* shows that only a *causa efficiens*, as for instance, the potter, can be endowed with knowledge, he answers (p. 403,7): "It is not necessary that this should be in accordance with experience; for this subject [Brahman]

is not known by inference *(anumâna)*, but only by revelation *(shabda)* is this subject known, and it is therefore [only] necessary here that it [what is to be accepted] should be in accordance with revelation, and this teaches that the knowing *Ishvara* (Lord) is the *causa materialis* [of the world]." (cf. p. 1144,13).

In these circumstances it is possible to make occasionally such statements about Brahman as would be, according to worldly standards, absolutely contradictory; for example, that Brahman does not wholly enter into the phenomenal world, and yet is without parts: (p. 481,13) "in the scripture is Brahman rooted; in the scripture has it its ground of knowledge, not in sense-perception and the like; therefore it must be accepted in accordance with the scriptures; but the scripture teaches of Brahman both that it is not wholly [absorbed by the world of appearances], and that it is without parts. Nay, even in the case of worldly things, such as amulets, charms drugs and the like, it happens that, in virtue of difference of place, time, and cause, they manifest powers with various contradictory effects, and even these cannot be known by mere reflection without instruction, nor can it be determined what powers, with what accompaniments, referring to what, for what available, a determined thing may have,—how can it then be possible to know the nature of Brahman, with its unthinkable perfection and might, without the scripture?"

This advantage, of being able on occasion to ignore experience, holds good only in the case of the Vedânta teacher, but not of his opponent: (p. 595,8) "The follower of Brahman investigates the being of the cause [of the world] and the like, relies on the [sacred] tradition, and it is not unconditionally necessary for him to accept every thing in accordance with perception *(na avashyam tasya yathâ-dṛshṭam eva sarvam abhyupa-gantavyam)*; but the opponent, who investigates the being of the cause [of the world] and the like, relying on the examples of experience *(dṛshṭânta)*, must accept everything according to experience,—that is the difference."

3. The Revelation of the Veda.

To mollify the severity of these declarations, we must call to mind the details in Chap. II, 2 (reading especially the passage in remark 32, p. [58]), according to which every empiric means of knowledge, and all the world produced by it, belongs to the province of *avidyâ*, as also, on the other hand, that in the Veda, especially in the Upanishads, philosophic conceptions are found which have their like neither in India, nor, perhaps, anywhere else in the world. Perhaps

this will make intelligible our author's view that the Veda is of superhuman origin *(apâurushêya* p. 170,2); that it is infallible (p. 618, 1); that, as we saw on p. [73] ff., the Gods are formed, but the Veda, on the contrary, is ever-present in the spirit of the creator of the world, as the immemorial rule of being; that it was "out-breathed" by him[57], concerning which the two chief passages are (p. 47,2): "The great canon of scripture beginning with the Ṛqveda, strengthened by many disciplinings of knowledge, lights all things like a lamp, and in a certain measure is omniscient, has Brahman as its origin and cause. For such a canon as the Ṛqveda and the rest, which is endowed with the quality of omniscience, can come from none but an omniscient source." And further (p. 48,4): "The great being which, according to the scripture [Bṛh 2,4,10] brought forth unwearying the Ṛqveda and the rest, that are called the mine of all knowledge, and lie at the basis of the division into Gods, animals, men, castes, Âshramas and the like, in sport, like the outbreathing of a man, must possess an abundant omniscience and omnipotence."

As Brahman itself is free from all differences, so also is the knowledge of Brahman, as we gain it from the Upanishads, uniform throughout and without contradiction (p. 834,4): "Has it not been established that Brahman, the object of knowledge, is free from all differences, as before, behind, and the like, uniform, and, like the lump of salt [Bṛh. 4, 5, 13], of one taste. How, then, can the thought arise of a difference or non-difference of knowledge? For that, like the variety of [pious] works, a variety with reference to Brahman, is taught by the Vedânta, can by no means be affirmed, since Brahman is one and uniform. And if Brahman is uniform, then the knowledge of Brahman cannot be variformed; for the assumption that the subject can be one thing and the knowledge of it another, is necessarily erroneous. And if, on the other hand, there were taught many sciences of the one Brahman in the Vedânta, then would the necessity of disbelief in the Vedânta [that is, the Upanishads] arise [cf. p. 104,1],—therefore should one not raise doubt, as if there were in the Vedânta differences in the knowledge of Brahman." In conformity with this fundmental law, the numerous contradictions in the Upani-

[57] We have thus in India, as analogy of our Inspiration and expiration, through which the Vedic texts were revealed to their composers, who are therefore called *Ṛshis*; the Mantras and Brahmanas "appear" *(pratibhânti)* to them, are "seen" *(dṛshṭa)* by them; cf p. 301,6: "Shâunaka and the other [composers of Prâtishâkyas] teach, that the Decades [of the Ṛqveda] were seen by *Madhuchchhandas* [the composer of the opening hymns of the Ṛqveda] and the other *Ṛshis*." In the same way, according to p. 314,13, the Brahmanas were also seen by the *Ṛshis mantra-brâhmanayosh chaikârthatvam yuktam, avirodhât.*

shads are explained away (1,1,27 may serve as an example), or hidden under the wide mantle of exoteric science, of which we shall speak in the next Chapter. Yet again, on occasion, minor contradictions in the parallel texts of the Upanishads are admitted with the remark, that they are not important.[88] Where the sense of the scripture is doubtful, the rule of experience *(lâukiko nyâyah)* decides, p. 1064, 5: "But still it is "unseemly to check the scripture concept by a rule of ex- "perience? To this we answer: this is so, where the sense of "the scripture is certain; but where it is doubtful, it is per- "missible to have recourse to a rule of experience, for the sake "of clearness;"—as then, in a general way, the worldly means of knowledge are helpful to the investigation of the sense of the scripture (p. 40, 6): "The knowledge of Brahman is per- "fected by the sense of the word of the Veda being considered "and determined; it is not perfected by other means of know- "ledge, such as inference *(anumâna)* and the rest. But although "it is the Vedânta texts which inform us of the cause of the "world's coming into existence and the like, yet, to the end of "assurance that we have grasped their sense [correctly], an "inference which does not contradict the words of the Vedânta "is not excluded as a means of knowledge. For by the scripture "itself [Brh. 2, 4, 5. Chhând. 6, 14, 12] reflection is called in "as a help."—(p. 42, 3): "For in the investigation of Brahman, "not as in the investigation of duty [the *Pûrva-mîmâṃsa*] the "scripture is not the exclusive authority, but the authorities here "are, according as it may happen, the scripture and the [inner] "perception *(anubhava)* and the like. For the knowledge of "Brahman reaches its final point in perception, as far as it refers "to a really existing subject."—(p. 44 6): "But is not Brahman, "so far as it is something really existing, alone in the province of "other means of knowledge, and is not the consideration of the "words of the Vedânta consequently aimless? Yet this is not "so, for as it is not an object of sense, its [causal] connection "with the world would not be grasped [with certainty]. That "is to say, the senses, according to their nature, have as their "object external things, and not Brahman. If Brahman were "an object of sense, then the world might be grasped as an effect "bound up with Brahman. Now, we only perceive the effect, "so that [without revelation], it cannot be decided whether the "world is bound up with Brahman [as cause], or with something "else [for the same effect can have different causes]."

Of the possibility here disclosed, of bringing in reflection as an

[88] For example p. 222,2 849,11 855 6: *na hi etâvata visheshena vidyâ ekatvam apagachchhate.*—418,12 *shrutînâm paraspara-viro dhe sati, ekavâkyena itara-niyamte.* This especially holds good in the case of contradictions in things where the aim of man *(puruṣha-artha)* does not come into question, p 374,7.

aid, our author makes a far more extensive use than might appear from these expressions. As far as the chief interest is bound up with this side of Shaṅkara's work, we will, as far as possible, pass over his endless quotations from the Veda, but, on the other hand, bend our whole attention on the philosophic reflection. The perfection of the latter, as it meets us in Shaṅkara's Commentary, may itself speak for the fact that we have to do here not with a merely theological, but also in the highest degree philosophical, monument of Indian antiquity.

VI. EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC VEDANTA TEACHING.

I. JUSTIFICATION OF EXOTERIC METAPHYSICS.

All metaphysics has to battle with the great and only difficulty in the whole province of science, that it must think in conceptions and express in words what is exactly contrary to their nature, since all words and conceptions at last spring from that very concept of empiric reality which metaphysics undertakes to transcend, in order to lay hold on the "Self" (*âtman*) of the world, the "ὄντως ὄν" the "thing in itself," which finds its expression and manifestation in all empiric reality, yet without being identical with it.

So far, then, as metaphysics adopts to itself the form of the empiric concept, in order thereby to express its own content, it necessarily assumes a figurative, more or less mythical character; and, as this is the only form in which it can be grasped by the people, standing in need of it (ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, St. Mark, 4,11), is called exoteric metaphysics. So far as, on the other hand, it adheres to the path of exact science, in order to attain to a whole, thoroughly provable in all its parts, and equal to any opposition, metaphysics must often choose difficult by-paths, turning conceptions through many shades of meaning, with all kinds of reservations, and in many cases entirely renouncing results that can be clearly represented. All this demands a great power and habit of abstraction, attainable only by few; therefore for this form of our science the name of esoteric metaphysics is taken.

2. EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC FORM OF THE VEDANTA.

(*a*) GENERAL SURVEY.

In accordance with what has been said, the metaphysics of the Vedânta has also two forms, a theological, exoteric, and a philosophical, esoteric form; both are present in the work which we have to analyse, running on beside each other, and being present in all the five provinces of the Vedânta teaching, namely, the theology, cosmology, psychology, the teaching of the wanderings of the soul, and that of liberation, in a continuous contradiction which is necessitated by the nature of the matter. But the great difficulty in understanding the Brahma-sûtras lies in this, that neither in the text nor in the Commentary are the two conceptions clearly separated from each other, but rather meet us everywhere interwoven with each other, in such sort that the basic texture of the whole consists of a

representation of the exoteric, or, as we may also call it (with an extension of the conception, whose justification will be given in what follows) the lower science *(aparâ vidyâ)*, which, however, is penetrated in every province by the esoteric or higher science *(parâvidyâ)*, standing in contradiction to it, a relation which compels us to justify our basic comprehension here at the outset.

As is shown by the analysis of contents [contained in an appendix, and referred to] at the conclusion of our first chapter, the teaching of the Vedânta consists briefly of a richly coloured picture of the world on a mythological ground. The first part contains, in Adhyâya I, the theology, which on the basis of seven times four passages of the Upanishads, discusses the being, the relation to the world as creator, ruler and destroyer, the relation to the soul, various names and attributes, of Brahman. This is followed, in Adhyâya II, by the Cosmology which discloses the relation of the world to Brahman as cause, its gradual evolution therefrom, and re-absorption therein, and, from II, 3, 15 on the psychology, in which are discussed the nature of the soul and its organs, its relation to God, to the body, to its own deeds. In Adhyâya III we come first to the teaching of the wanderings of the soul, then to a supplement to the psychology (III, 2, 1-10), another to the theology (III, 2, 11-41); the rest of the Adhyâya is a varicoloured mingling of discussions, for the most part exegetic in character, as the chief content of which we can, in any case, with Shaṅkara (p. 1043,3), point to the teaching of the means (*Sâdhana*) of the higher and lower sciences, that is, of the knowledge and adoration of Brahman. For the most part these discussions revolve round the strange question whether certain passages of the Veda are to be comprehended in one "Vidyâ," or to be separated, a question which has a meaning only for the lower science, with its aim of adoration. Finally, the conclusion of the work, Adhyâya IV, contains the eschatology; it represents circumstantially the departure of the soul after death, and how some souls follow the way of the Fathers *(Pitṛyâna)* to a new incarnation, while, on the contrary, others, the adorers of Brahman, are led along the way of the gods *(devayâna)* higher and higher upwards to Brahman, "whence there is no return"—according to the Upanishads, but not without further conditions, according to the reasoning of our system: for this Brahman is only the "lower" Brahman, that is, as considered as possessing attributes *(guṇa)*, it is the subject of adoration, and not of "perfect knowledge" *(samyagdarshanam)*; only after this latter, that is, the esoteric teaching, is imparted to the pious in the world of Brahman, is he also liberated; until then, although he is in the world of Brahman, and a partaker of Lord-

ship (*Âishvaryam*), "his darkness is not yet driven away" (p. 1154, 9), "his nescience not yet destroyed" (p. 1133,15), that is, he possesses only the lower science (*aparâ vidyâ*), whose contents are formed of all that has hitherto been mentioned, not the contradistinguished higher science, the *parâ vidyâ* or *samyagdarshanam*, that is, the pure philosophic, esoteric teaching, which, in every province of this picture of the world with its empiric colouring, comes into opposition with it and contradicts it, and whose results, according to the metaphysical standpoint which we occupy, we may find strange, or wonderful. In the department of theology it teaches that Brahman is not thus or thus, but altogether without attributes (*guṇa*), distinctions (*visheṣha*) and determinations (*Upâdhi*), and therefore in no way capable of definition or representation. And this Brahman, devoid of all determination, is the only being, outside which nothing is; therefore, in the department of Cosmology, as little can be said of the origin of the world as of its existence, but only of this, that there is neither anything different (*nânâ*) from Brahman, nor any plurality of things (*prapañcha*), and that the world extended in names and forms is non-existent (*avastu*), is only a glamour (*mâyâ*) which Brahman, as master-magician (*mâyâvin*), puts forth (*prasârayati*), as the dreamer puts forth the forms of dream (p. 432,8). In the same way all further psychology falls away, after the word "*tat tvam asi*" (that thou art), according to which the soul of each human being is not an emanation, not a part of Brahman, but fully and completely Brahman, is comprehended. For him who has learned this, there is no more wandering of the soul, nor even liberation; for he is already liberated; the continued existence of the world and of his own body appears to him only as an illusion, whose presence he cannot remove, but which cannot further deceive him, till the time when, on the body's ceasing, he goes not forth, as the others, but remains where he is and what he is and eternally was,—the first principle of all things, "according to his own nature, eternal, pure, free Brahman."

This is the *Samyagdarshana*, the *vidyâ* in the strict sense of the word, distinguished on the one side from empiric cosmology, and psychology, *avidyâ*, and on the other from the teaching of the *aparam*, *saguṇam brahma*, the adoration and entering into it on the path of *devayâna*, the *aparâvidyâ*, *saguṇâ vidyâ*, whose possessor can, however, also on occasion be called *vidvân* (p. 1095, 11. 1134,11). Strictly viewed, this *aparâvidyâ* is nothing but metaphysics in empiric clothing, that is *vidyâ* as it appears, considered from the standpoint of *avidyâ* (the realism innate in us); this definition is not, however, found in Shaṅkara, as in general the distinction of the esoteric and exoteric teach-

ings and the inner connection of the latter, as well as of the former, does not reach the clearness with which we express it and must express it here, unless we are willing to renounce a full comprehension of the system. What prevented our author from connecting together—as he did in the case of the *parâ vidyâ*—the *aparâvidyâ* also, with its teaching of the creation of the world and Saṃsâra, in the unity of an exoteric system, was at once the excessive attention which, in Indian fashion, he paid to theological and eschatological questions, and, on the other hand, the apprehension of approaching too nearly the letter of the Veda, in which esoteric and exoteric teaching are inextricably mingled, by a recognition of the contradictions between them. For this reason, for instance, he takes endless pains to maintain the teaching of the creation of the world through Brahman, and to unify it with his better insight into the indentity of the two, trying to show that cause and effect are identical, and then constantly (*e.g.*, p 374 12. 391,10. 484,2. 491,1) asserting that the teachings of creation had only the aim of teaching this identity of the world with Brahman, a view which cannot be brought into harmony with the ample and realistic treatment which he himself bestowed on it.

Naturally we shall do no violence to our author, and where, in the organism of his system, we note a false outgrowth, we shall only indicate it, and not cut through it; but, on the other side, we have the right to exercise philosophic criticism and this will be the better, the more it is done entirely from within outwards, from the principles of the system itself. For in every philosopical system lies something more than its originator put into it; the genius reaches further than the individual, and it is the task of the historian to indicate where the thinker has lagged behind the full scope of his thoughts.

To this end we must be allowed here, at the outset of our exposition of the system, to bring together the passages which justify our basic comprehension of it; they will form the beacons to which we have to look, to steer on our laborious and dangerous journey, and from them we shall take the standard to test where our author has fallen short of the greatness of his own point of view.

(*b*) Exoteric and Esoteric Theology.

Quite clear and conscious, if not everywhere carried out in detail, do we find the contrast of exoteric and esoteric teaching in the province of Theology, under the names of the lower, attribute-possessing (*aparâ saguṇâ*), and the higher, attributeless sciences (*parâ, nirguṇâ vidyâ*); the former is the teaching of the lower, attribute-possessing Brahman, the latter

that of the higher Brahman, devoid of attributes (*aparam, saguṇam sairsheṣham*), also (*kâryam, amukhyam brahma* and *param, nirguṇam, nirvisheṣham*, also *avikṛtam, mukhyam, shuddham brahma*). The former is the subject of adoration, the latter of knowledge; for the former there is an ordinance of duties to be fulfilled, for the latter none (p. 1077,7); the former has many rewards, the latter, as its one fruit, has liberation.

The chief passages are as follows (p. 111,3):—"Brahman is known in two forms [1] as characterised by determinations (*upâdhi*), which [are created] from the plurality of its transformations in name and form, and [2], in contrast thereto, as free from all determinations" (p. 803,3). "There are, in reference to Brahman, scripture passages of twofold character (*lingam*); the ones, as for example 'all-working, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting' and the like [*Chhând.* 3,14,2 cf above p. [52]], have, as character, Brahman's possession of differences (*visheṣha*); the others, as for instance, 'not coarse, not fine, not short, not long,' and the like (Bṛh. 3,8,8), have as character, its freedom from all differences. . . But it is not right, on account of the passages of scripture of these two characters, to assert that also the highest (*param*) Brahman in itself (*svatas* is of both characters; for one and the same thing cannot in itself be regarded as with differences, like form and the rest, and be recognised as the opposite, because this is self-contradictory. . . And by connecting a thing of another kind with determinations (*upâdhi*) it does not become of another nature; for, when a rock-crystal is clear, it will not cease to be clear by connection with determinations, such as red colour and the like; for rather its penetration by unclearness is only an illusion (*bhrama*), and what attributes these determinations to it, is nescience (*avidyâ*) Therefore, even if the one or the other character be asserted, yet must one comprehend Brahman as unalterably free from all differences, and not the reverse. For everywhere in the words of the scripture, where the object is to teach the proper nature of Brahman, it is taught by passages such as 'not audible, not sensible, not formed, not transitory' (Kâṭh. 3, 15), that Brahman is completely devoid of all difference."[59]

(P. 133, 7) "For where the nature (*rûpa*) of the highest Lord is taught by an elimination of all attributes, the canon of scripture uses expressions like 'not audible, not sensible, not

[59] Cf. p. 806, 9: "Therefore must we, in accordance with the scripture, accept Brahman, in this passage, as entirely devoid of form (*nirâkâram*); but the other passages which refer to Brahman as possessing form (*âkâravat*), have in view not Brahman itself but a direction of worship."

formed, not transitory' (Kâṭh. 3, 15). But further on, the highest Lord, as he is the cause of all, is indicated as differentiated by certain qualities of transformation [creation, which is one of his transformations], when it is said: 'all-working, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting' Chhând. 3, 14, 2, and it is exactly the same with the description of him as the man [in the sun] with a golden beard (Chhând. 1, 6, 6,) and so forth."

(P. 1121. 1): "Because the lower (*aparam*) Brahman stands near the higher (*param*), it is not, on that account, a contradiction to apply the word Brahman to the former. For it stands thus, that the higher Brahman itself, so far as, connected with pure determinations (*vishuddha-upâdhi*), it is here and there indicated for the purpose of worship, through certain qualities of transformation, such as 'Manas is its material' (Chhând. 3, 14, 2) and the rest, is the lower Brahman."

(P. 867, 12): "These qualities also [from Tâitt. 2, 5: What is dear is his head, and so on] are only attributed to the highest Brahman as a means of turning the thoughts to it (*chitta-avatâra-upâya-mâtratvena*), and not to the end of knowledge, ... and this rule [that such qualities have validity only in their place and not in general] is also to be applied elsewhere, where there is question of determined qualities of Brahman, taught to the end of adoration For the more or less of attributes in which the [empiric] tendency of plurality consists (*sati bheda-vyavahâre*), exists for the attribute-possessing (*saguṇam*) Brahman, and not for the attributeless (*nirguṇam*) highest Brahman."

(P. 112, 2): "In a thousand passages the scripture teaches the dual nature of Brahman, since it distinguishes between it as the object of science and of nescience (*vidyâ-avidyâ-vishaya*). From the standpoint of nescience (*avidyâ-avasthâyâm*) every treatment of Brahman has the indicative mark of [contrasting] it as object of adoration and its adorer; and certain adorations of Brahman have as aim uplipting (*abhyudaya*), certain have as aim gradual liberation (*krama-mukti*), certain have as aim the success of the work of sacrifice[60]; and these are different according as the attributes (*guṇa*), differences (*vishesha*) and determinations (*upâdhi*) are different. Now, although the God to be adored, differentiated through these or those attributes and differences, the highest Âtman, is only one, yet the rewards [of adoration] are different according to the adoration of the attribute."

[60] Cf. p. 815, 5: "The fruit of it [the adoration of *saguṇam brahma*] is, according to the teaching, often the destruction of sins, often the obtaining of [heavenly] lordship (*aishvaryam*), often gradual liberation; thus is it to be understood. There it is according to rule to accept the view that the words of scripture concerning adoration and the words of scripture concerning Brahman [as subject of knowledge] have different aims, not the same aim."

(P. 148, 2): "For when the highest Brahman (*paraṃ brahma*), free from all connection with differences, is indicated as soul, there is, as is to be seen [from the scripture], only one single fruit, namely liberation; where, on the contrary, Brahman is taught in its connection with different attributes (*guṇa-viśeṣha*), or in its connection with different sense-pictures (*pratîka-viśeṣha*, on which 4 1, 4, 4, 3, 15-16), there are produced high and low rewards only limited to Saṃsâra (*Saṃsâra-gocharâṇi eva*)."[61]

(*c*) Exoteric and Esoteric Eschatology.

As already made clear by the passages quoted, this two-fold nature of the lower Brahman, as it is the subject of adoration, and of the higher, as it is the subject of knowledge, corresponds as strictly as possible with the two-fold nature of the eschatological theory of our system. The names *parâ* and *aparâvidyâ* comprehend, for Shaṅkara, not only the philosophical and theological theories of Brahman, but also the teaching of the destinies of those who adhere to the one or the other; the *parâ vidyâ* teaches how he who knows the *param brahma*, by this very knowledge, becomes identical with it, and accordingly stands in need of no departure of the soul and further advance towards it, in order to reach it; on the other hand the *aparâvidyâ* comprehends the teaching of Brahman as subject of adoration, and at the same time the theory of the rewards which fall to the lot of the adorer; these are, as we saw, partly temporal, partly celestial, partly even the gradual liberation of the *Devayâna*, but always limited to the *Saṃsâra* (p. 148, 5), from which it follows that, like the *Pitryâna*, the *Devayâna* also belongs to the Saṃsâra, that is, as its end. According to this, as we are expressively assured, the whole teaching of the *Devayâna* (the ascent of the pious to Brahman) belongs to the *aparâvidyâ* (p. 1087, 3); to the attribute-possessing adorations (*saguṇâ upâsaṇâ*) of Brahman, not to the *samyagdarshana* (p. 909, 8. 10); heaven and the like, with its lordship (*Aishvaryam*) is the ripened fruit of the *saguṇâ vidyâh* (p. 1149,13); he who, on the contrary, knows the *param brama*, for him, as is developed in the episode concerning the *parâvidyâ*

[61] Cf. p. 1047, 7: "Where no difference of teaching exists, there can also not be, as in the case of fruit of works, a determined difference of fruit For in the case of that teaching [the *nirguṇâ vidyâ*], which is the means of liberation, there is no difference, as in the case of works. On the contrary, in the case of the attribute-possessing teachings (*saguṇâsu vidyâsu*), as, for example, 'Manas is his material, Prâṇa his body' (Chhând. 3, 14, 2), and so on, there exists a difference, in consequence of the admixture or separation of attributes, and accordingly, as in the case of the fruit of works, a difference of fruit according to the peculiarity determined. And a token of this is the scripture, when it is said: 'As whatever he adores him, that he becomes;' but it is not so in the case of the attributeless teaching (*nirguṇâyâṃ vidyâyâṃ*), because [in it] no attributes exist."

4,2,12-16 (*prâsaṅgikî*) *parâvidyâ-gatâ chintâ* (p. 1103,12) there is no more departure from the body, nor any entering into Brahman (p. 1102,1).

(*d*). Exoteric and Esoteric Cosmology and Psychology.

At first sight, the matter stands somewhat differently in the province of Cosmology and Psychology. The question is here no longer the contrast between *aparâ* and *parâvidyâ*, but another, the contrast between two standpoints, which, p. 456,1, are distinguished as the standpoint of world-tendency (*vyavahâra-avasthâ*) and the standpoint of the highest reality (*paramârtha avasthâ*). The former is that of *avidyâ* (p. 455,6), the latter that of *vidyâ*. The former teaches a creation of the world through Brahman endowed with a plurality of powers (*shakti*) and a plurality of individual souls, for whose activities and enjoyment it is the stage, for the latter, the possibility of a creation and a wandering of souls falls away along with plurality, and in place of both comes the teaching of the identity of Brahman with nature as with the soul.

(P. 491,1): "This scripture-teaching of the creation does not belong to the highest reality (*paramârtha*), for it lies in the province of world-tendency (*vyavahâra*) in name and form asserted by Avidyâ, and has, as its highest aim, to teach that Brahman is the soul; this must not be forgotten!"

(P. 473,13): "When, through declarations of non-separateness, like "*tat tvam asi*" (that thou art), non-separateness has become known, then the soul's existence as wanderer, and Brahman's existence as creator, have vanished away."

That the *paramârtha avasthâ* of Cosmology and Psychology forms a whole with the *parâ vidyâ* of theology and eschatology, may be concluded from the explanations of Shaṅkara himself, in the single passage in which he lays down the esoteric teaching connectedly [referred to] at the end of this chapter [and] translated [in an appendix]. Here we will prove only, what Shaṅkara was not so clearly conscious of, that, quite analogously, the *vyavahâra avasthâ* of the teachings of creation and the wanderings of the soul are to be connected with the *aparâvidyâ* of an attribute-possessing, that is, to speak in our language, of a personal God, and a soul which departs to him after death, in the unity of an exoteric metaphysics, which treats of the Beyond from the standpoint of innate realism (*avidyâ*), since the *aparâ vidyâ* cannot exist without the *vyavahâra-avasthâ*, nor the *vyavahâra-avasthâ* without the *aparâvidyâ*

(*1*) The *aparâ vidyâ* cannot exist without the *vyavahâra-avasthâ*; for the *devayâna* of the *aparâvidyâ* demands, as its complement, the *pitṛyâna*; but this is the path of Saṃsâra, and

Shaṅkara himself has told us above (p. [114, the last page]) that the reality of Saṃsâra and the reality of the creation stand and fall together ; therefore the *aparâvidyâ* demands, as its complement, the realism of the teaching of creation ; as also, conversely, the *devayâna*, and, along with it, the *aparâvidyâ*, disappear only for him who has recognised the unity of his *Âtman* with *Brahman*, and therewith the illusion of the manifold world and the wandering soul.

(2) In exactly the same way the *vyavahâra-avasthâ* of the teaching of creation cannot exist without the *aparâvidyâ* of *saguṇam brahma* ; for, in order to create, Brahman requires a plurality of *shaktis*, or powers (p. 342,6. 486,10) ; but these stand in contradiction (p. 1126,2) to a *nirvisheṣham brahma*, from which it follows that only a *saguṇam, savisheṣham*, not a *nirguṇam, nirvisheṣham brahma* can be a Creator.

The inner necessary connection between the *vyavahâra avasthâ* and the *aparâ vidyâ* here demonstrated often enough comes more or less clearly to Shaṅkara's consciousness : thus, when he describes the *saguṇam brahma* as *avidyâ-vishaya* (p. 112, 2), for which the *bheda-vyavahâra* exists (p. 868, 7) ; when he views the *upâdhis* attributed to it as resting on *avidyâ* (p. 804, 1) ; when he explains the fruit of its adoration as *saṃsâra-gocharam* (p. 148, 5 , the *âishvaryam* of the *apara-brahmavid* as *saṃsâra-gocharam* (p. 1133, 14) and those who have entered into the lower Brahman as still subject to *Avidyâ* (p. 1154 9. 1133 15), that is, with the same word with which he everywhere else describes the realism of the teaching of creation and the soul's wanderings. And on occasion he expresses it openly, that the cosmological distinction of *îshvara* and *prapañcha* belongs to the *saguṇa upâsanâ* (p. 456, 10), and, conversely, that the teaching of *saguṇam brahma* presupposes the *prapañcha* (p. 820,12).

From these facts we draw the justification of connecting together the teaching of the *saguṇam brahma*, of a world thereby created and of an individual soul which circles in this world, and finally enters into that *brahma*, in a whole of exoteric metaphysics. And Shaṅkara also, if we were to ask him—" Is, then, that *saguṇam brahma* and the *devayâna* lead-" ing thither real, although from the standpoint of the highe t " truth neither exists ? " He would certainly answer : " They " are precisely as real as this world ; and only in the sense that " the *prapañcha* and Saṃsâra are unreal, are the *saguṇam* " *brahma* and the *devayâna* unreal ; both are the *aparâvidyâ*, " that is Vidyâ as it appears from the standpoint of Avidyâ" (*avidyâ-avasthâyâm* p. 112,3. 680, 12 682,3) [62]

[62] Also the thought that the esoteric science aims at accommodating the truth to the comprehension of the masses, can be pointed out in Shaṅkara : thus the spatial

But it must still be maintained that Shaṅkara did not reach full clearness as to the necessary connection of the exoteric systems, as will become clear often enough from his discussions, which we shall reproduce faithfully and unaltered; but, as regards the esoteric teaching, on the contrary, there is found at the end of his work a passage from which his consciousness of its inner necessary connection comes out as clearly as possible, and which, as a compendium of Shaṅkara's Metaphysics *in nuce*, and, at the same time, as an example of the style and character of thought of the work with which we are occupied, we shall translate word for word.

conception of Brahman exists *upalabdhi-artham*, p. 182,8. 193,4; the measurement of Brahman is *buddhi-arthâ, upâsana-arthaḥ*, 835,4; *na hi-avikâras 'nante brahmani sarvâiḥ pumbhiḥ shakyâ buddhiḥ sthâpayitum, mandhya-madu uttama-buddhitvât puṅsâm, iti*, 835,6. The propædentic character of the esoteric science is very clearly laid down in the Commentary to Chhând. 8, 1. p. 528, and this passage (which we shall translate in Chapter XI I. D), is above all to be considered, when there is a question of testing the justification of our comprehension of the Vedânta system.

ART. VIII.—THE EUROPEAN TERROR.

EVER since the appearance of an article by Emile de Lavéleye in *The Fortnightly Review* for April, 1883, English observers have become aware of a general feeling of alarm among Continental middle-classes, and have found it a matter of equal sorrow and surprise. Our ancestors dealt with popular movements in their own rough way; and there have been certain occasions, so late as the reign of Victoria, when a show of force has called forth a corresponding display from the side of the authorities. But it is all new in the countries on the other side of the sea: the French Revolution is only a century old, and the French Revolution was the first successful effort of numbers against privilege. At the present day a Third Estate, that emancipated itself by violence, is confronted by a Fourth Estate that would better the example; and the former can only abuse the latter and threaten forced repression. The result of all this has been to confuse rational movements with those which are insane and criminal, and to identify in minds on both sides the opposite doctrines of Socialism and Anarchism. One of these is, in fact, the complete neutralisation of the other; for Socialism—as the term is understood by us—is a gospel (or a craze), in any case, implying the control of capitalist selfishness by legislation and police: Anarchism, on the other hand, means the demolition of institutions and the substitution of individualism unrestrained. Now, all Englishmen may not agree as to the limits assignable to State interference and collective action; but all—whether Conservative or Liberal—will agree that the struggle for life must be controlled, competition mitigated, combination and co-operation encouraged, and some callings, at least, exercised under official management or superintendence. In that qualified sense, an in a spirit more or less philanthropic, most British thinkers are "socialist;" only the tendency of such socialism is, plainly, no wise anarchic, but rather towards the strengthening of the State and the extension of its functions. The doctrine spoken of by our island economists as "Laissez-faire" was adopted by them from the French: and, after a long period of predominance, is now often thought to have been somewhat overdone.* The idea of the "Physiocrat" theorists was that personal interest was a safer guide than official wisdom and skill.

* The *doctrine* is better French than the *word* "Laisser-faire" (with an R.) is the true idiom, classed by Littre, with "laisser-dire," as a synonym for indifference. The imperative form, commonly used in English, is unsanctioned; the infinitive again occurs in "laisser-aller," equivalent to "facility of disposition."

Therefore, what has been since called "selection of the fittest" was the best source of national prosperity. Such was the theory of the French economists, original and bold, before the maturity of time; "too previous," after the brilliant manner of their race.* The French people at large never took kindly to the principle; but, in the hands of Adam Smith, "the thing became a trumpet." Pitt, Huskisson, Canning, and Peel adopted it, by ever-advancing degrees; till the repeal of the Corn-laws was followed by the almost unrestrained construction and development of British railways. The remarks of the late Professor Thorold Rogers on the subject show all his eccentric vigour, with—as one ought in fairness to add—the wise benevolence which underlies his rough manner.† "*Laissez-faire*," he writes, making the usual blunder, is no more than natural justice, postulating the absolute and entire freedom of all contracting parties, in which all the agents are fairly equal in their competency to interpret their own interests and to give effect to their interpretation; being, of course, constantly corrected by other interests which they equitably balance against their own." But he hastens to add that an ideal such as this cannot safely admit of indiscriminate application. "The most marked of the cases in which *laissez-faire* breaks down," proceeds Rogers, "is that of the working classes." It is difficult, he thinks, to retrieve the position of these classes by the principle of free competition, even if it be tempered by combined efforts of any particular labourers, or even of the whole labouring community. Going on to a special instance of this difficulty, he seems to think it ought to be surmounted by intelligent concerted action. "I am sure that an eight hour's day is worth more than a ten-hour's day, and is cheaper at the same money. But I would far rather that the workmen got it by their own combinations and exertions than by a gift of the legislature." There speaks the practical Briton.

Such opinions, formed in the usual empiric way of Englishmen, have arisen to temper the *à priori* doctrines of French and Scottish thinkers. An Act of Parliament always closes their vista, though individual effort be still encouraged and allowed considerable freedom. But Anarchism appears to John Bull, at best, but a dangerous remedy for the weaknesses

* The concrete expression of this peculiarity is to be found in a story old enough to be repeated. Foote, according to legend, was conversing with a Frenchman on the eternal subject of national comparisons. "Admit, monsieur," said the latter, lightly touching the comedian's lace ruffle, "that we invented this."—"Why, yes," answered Foote, with an affectation of candour: "France invented the lace-ruffle: but, you see, *we added the shirt*." The tale has been somewhat perverted and diluted by the American, Russell-Lowell, but the idea is the same.

† "Economic Interpretation of History" (Fisher Unwin 1891.) p.p. 350 f.f.

and excesses of personal liberty. Born and inured to freedom, he understands little of the fears that freedom inspires abroad: still less can he comprehend how licence for individuals could connect itself in the minds of employers with a demand for collectivist action in defence of labour. He is not aware of the hostilities which roll like an infernal river between employer and labourer, nor of the blind obstinacy with which employer-governments, however democratic in form, can resist the claims of labour. In France and in Belgium, no less than in Germany and Russia, repressed Socialism has been driven to assume the apparently adverse symptoms of morbid individualism, demanding the destruction of all authority and employing the most unsocial agencies of crime towards that end.

Rogers, who is a characteristic example of English intelligence, has his own view of this delusive synthesis. Foreign governments, he thinks, have brought it on themselves. "The full concession of freedom in the formation of labour-partnerships is . . . one of the best remedies against those socialistic movements which demand the intervention of Parliament on behalf of labourers' employment." But he would never tolerate the abdication of Parliament as an ultimate protector: protection, as a constant factor, being nevertheless condemned. "In countries where the Government manages the subject too much, Socialism in a . . . menacing form prevails." The natural result is that socialism is in a manner compelled to proclaim Anarchy: but the contradiction in terms is none the less apparent.

It is this danger, this illogical consequence of too much logic, that especially attracts one to the teaching of the lately deceased Continental publicist quoted above. Emile de Laveleye is especially interesting, from having been much penetrated by English moderation, while remaining master of all the clearness of thought and expression due to a French training. One sometimes hears it said that Emile de Laveleye was a socialist; but if the term be used in a spirit of hostile criticism, it will not apply; to him, indeed, Socialism—properly understood—was no more of a bugbear than it was to the readers of the *Fortnightly Review*, whom he frequently addressed between the years 1872 and 1885. But, then, what he understood by "Socialism" was not at all what the word conveys to the Continental town politician: it was a form of public and philanthropic economy, rather than a propaganda of envy. In every Christian, he said, there is a germ of the socialist; as every true socialist, however unconsciously, carries a germ of Christian sentiment. He, nevertheless, had his share of the Continental feeling on the subject; believing, that the danger of socialism was real and that it arose from the negation of this religious

element, not from its action. "In proportion," he wrote, "as faith departs, the multitude, ceasing to believe in heavenly compensations, demands its share of welfare, *here* and *now* . . . If you prove to it that the justice of which it dreams is a chimera, and that the existing division of property is determined by inexorable laws, you only teach it the language of despair. Away, it will then cry, with such laws. Let the iniquitous society perish by fire, so that a new world may rise upon its ashes. And thus is engendered Nihilism.*

Many other conditions of modern life were shown by Laveleye to have a similar tendency; but the cause here assigned for the degeneration of socialism into a pure and simple demolition, is one that merits particular attention, because it is common to all European countries, and is, perhaps, incapable of cure. Whether one approves or deplores, one must admit that dogmatic belief is on the decline; and this is what, in the passage cited, is meant by the *departure of faith* ("la foi s'en va)." To those who cling to the old dogmas as divine, and who, hoping against hope, look to Heaven for a miracle in their behalf, one can only say that a practical statesmanship must needs deal with what is, not with what may be. If, in the development of thought and civilisation, beliefs once delivered to the Saints have fallen obsolete and ceased to operate, other obligations must be produced, and other considerations enforced. There need be no neglect of the mysterious links that bind man to the Unknown, because the old links that used to seem so solid have lost their power: if the days are passed when the heads of the hierarchy could say:—The people desires to be deceived, all the more reason for helping the people to find the way of truth.

But another and most enormous question remains. Was Laveleye altogether right in thinking that the multitude must break up existing society, in order to satisfy aspirations for happiness, which were formerly content with post-obits and hopes of a fair Paradise beyond the grave? The answer is difficult, and can be looked for only in a deeper study of the story of mankind than any one has yet put on record. Has the belief in a future state of "compensations" ever helped in the way assumed? It would be a thesis hard to prove: the ancient Hebrews—who did not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments—were eminently patriotic, and, for so turbulent a people, submissive and conservative in their habits. On the other hand, there have been signs in the best known popular risings, of the active presence of an ardent fanaticism, finding in hopes of heaven a motive power to

* Le Socialisme Contemporain. 1st edition: Brussels, 188—

sustain it against earthly perils. Such was the revolt in Arabia which led to the foundation of Islam; such were the Lollard movements in England, those of the Anabaptists in Germany, of the Cameronians in Scotland. One would not wish to dogmatise on so difficult and delicate a matter; but, plainly, there is evidence against the conclusion cited from Laveleye. 'The roots of revolution may strike deep in human misery, but its boughs aspire to the sky.

Another factor of Nihilism, against which Laveleye desired to warn the socialists of his time, was the military spirit. International rivalry, war, exaggerated armaments, combined to foster two dangers: they caused a considerable part of the produce of labour to be consumed without profitable return; and they drew together, into the dangerous contagion of garrisons, the young men who would otherwise be working in the open air of rural districts. Here, again, it looks as if *à priori* doctrine demanded an application of the criterion of fact. Is it true that the military spirit is increasing; and, if so, is that spirit favourable to Anarchy?

On the former branch of this question evidence is to be once more sought in history. Without going back to pure Christian times, let us consider the origin of modern civilisation. Here one may, perhaps, find it hard to show that feudal manners were more peaceful than our own. Citizen-hosts did not then prevail in their existing form: but the levies of tenantry and peasants, who followed the barons and knights—the greater and the lesser landlords—,formed a very fair equivalent. Or, perhaps, there was a difference, but one which by no means made for peace; the feudal levies followed their leaders more or less blindly: it is possible that the modern armed nations may not be always so docile.

This brings us to a fresh and most exciting item in the conclusions of Laveleye. Will an army recruited from the multitude at large by the operation of forcible conscription be a trustworthy support in resisting all popular movements? The question is grave and pressing; and the means of reply are even more abstruse than in the former instances. History may throw some light upon the effects of fanaticism, or of a warlike spirit at large; but as to the action of a principle only a few years old it must needs be silent. In the few cases where modern English mobs have been confronted by soldiers, the latter have usually proved faithful and have prevailed; the most notable exception being that of the 14th Light Dragoons at Bristol in 1831: but this is no more than the exception that proves the rule. Colonel Brereton, ill-directed by the local authorities, showed a weakness and want of discretion which led to momentary mischief: but he paid for it with his life, and

the troops, when properly led and instructed, were at once successful, without much loss of life. But it has been otherwise in France, and there is some reason for apprehension in other Continental countries. Especially does this danger appear in a country where—as in Belgium—the members of the middle-classes do not enter the ranks of the army. By the Belgian system, all adult males are, indeed, called upon to face the ordeal of the conscription: but any young man who draws a fatal lot can escape service on payment of a sum of money, generally equivalent to £ 80. For this he finds a substitute; sometimes a peasant, oftener an unskilful artizan, a tapster out-of-place, a mere "corner-man," or "street-rough." Such are the rank-and-file of the Belgian army: and one has only to imagine them standing under arms for hours in the sun or the rain, plied by the rioters with wine and exposed to female blandishments, to see that a very great danger exists in the unwillingness of such men to act against their friends at the bidding of their leaders. Magistrates may be ever so firm; officers of the middle or higher class may do their best to carry out the Magistrates' instructions; but a popular force will be naturally unwilling to fire upon a mob containing a number of women and consisting otherwise of persons of like passions with themselves. It was, perhaps, under some such anticipations that Laveleye wrote the following sentence:—"If, as once in Israel, prophets arose thirsting for righteousness, social Christianity might take possession of mens' souls and cause deep changes in economic order. The ultimate triumph of a violent revolution is, however, impossible. At the same time, such is the satanic power of destruction latent in Nihilism that, in a temporary crisis, authority might fail, by paralysis of repressive force: in which event, no doubt, our capitals might be ravaged by dynamite and petroleum in a more systematic manner than was Paris in 1871."

Although such an eruption might be but for a moment, its effects would be deplorable. One of its possible factors is to be found in the corruption of great cities. Not only are the artizans contaminated by association in sordid occupations and unsanitary dwellings, but they are constantly provoked and irritated by beholding the idleness and extravagance of the rich. Laveleye defined luxury as "all that is at once expensive and superfluous;" and he condemned it, upon moral and political grounds, as opposed to the true ends of life. Like a good economist, he also repudiated the usual defence of luxury as being "good for trade," pointing out that national prosperity did not arise from unrestrained consumption and unlimited production, but sprang rather from the accumulation of resources resulting from good economy. Most of all, he

opposed the reckless and profuse living of great towns: this he did first on the above grounds, but also in the name of right and propriety, which required from the rich constant discharge of duty towards their numberless disinherited brethren. The one exception which he made was alike characteristic of himself and of his artistic country: all kinds of sumptuousness appeared to him to be possible in public buildings. Such was the ideal of the modern Fleming, as it was of the ancient Latin poet, who said of his stern forefathers that they honoured the hovel, but kept their decorations for civic and divine objects:—

Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant oppida publico
Sumptu jubentes et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

Their laws forbade that scorn should be to straw built dwelling shown;
Nor public halls nor temples want for fronts of carven stone.

To the honour of the Belgians candid visitors will always reckon their splendid and tasteful cathedrals and town-halls dating from the Middle-ages; while the practice of decorative public outlay is kept up to this day. When, in 1870, the river Senne was built over in its passage through Brussels, the town-council offered twenty prizes for the best designs for street-fronts; and the result is to be seen in a Boulevard which, for varied beauty, competes with anything in Europe. In many more important respects also Belgium is an interesting and prosperous land, not universally "hospitable," perhaps, though some of the Belgians are good friends, but still a country where a foreigner is not actively molested, and, up to a few years ago, was on good terms with all around.

When, in the heyday of Reform, the Kingdom of Belgium was set agoing by Palmerston and Louis-Philippe, the Liberals had a fair start and a long spell of influence. Of these advantages they made inadequate use; and they are now, as a party, almost effaced. There is nothing left between them and the discontent of the working classes but the precarious protection of a temporary Conservative majority. And, when the word "Conservative" is used in this connection, it must not be understood as meaning what it does in England. The present Belgian Cabinet, which is enormously strong in Parliament, professes and practises a policy of repression which can be compared only to "sitting on the safety-valve." By the side of some of these statesmen, Lord Salisbury would appear a demagogue and Mr. Arthur Balfour an incendiary. One instance may serve to exhibit at once the energy of the Government and the timidity of the middle-classes. In the early spring of this year, a number of weavers employed in a quiet manufacturing town, some forty miles from Brussels, having struck, without political

objects, and merely on a question of wages, gathered aimlessly in the streets. The Mayor went off to attend a sitting of the Chamber at Brussels, leaving order to be maintained by the Gendarmerie, a small but thoroughly trusted body. The mob, disregarding the order to disperse, was fired on with such effect that one person was killed and six were wounded. When the case was discussed in the Chamber, the Mayor and Gendarmerie were defended successfully by the Minister of the Interior; but the demands of the workmen had been, in the meanwhile, conceded by their employers!

The device of the founders of the kingdom was *L'union fait la force*, but if the force of Belgium is to depend on union, it is in a bad way. And, the hatred of fear on one side being amply repaid by the hatred of envy on the other, the Kingdom, started with so much Liberal profession, will, unless care be taken, cause general alarm through the whole of Europe. Unless the capitalists and employers of labour can learn to agree with their adversary while they are in the way with him, they may soon become a disturbing element for the general equilibrium of the Continent.

An attempt was made, on a former occasion, to draw attention to the mixed character of the dense population of Belgium, and to show that it does not yet form what is usually regarded as a "nation."* That is because it is, neither in race nor in language, homogeneous, or even sympathetic; the Walloons of the southern parts being Gallo-Latins, like their French neighbours, while the Flemings are Teutons, of the Low Dutch type. And this is not all; for each section—and each is about equal in number—uses a language entirely unintelligible to the other. Doubtless, there is a possibility that, like the Gael and the Saxon in Scotland, the two races may, in the course of time, be welded together by pressure from without and by their common feelings and interests; but this will not be done at once. In the meanwhile, a number of things may happen. Especially should the Belgians beware of internal feuds and of becoming a European nuisance. The fate of Poland should be ever before their eyes: at any moment that their quarrels may take an overt form, the powerful nations on their borders may take the alarm, or assume a pretext. The German Emperor may find in their agitations an expedient for making his peace with France. "Here," we may imagine him saying, is "Ucalegon on fire again; let us put him out, and divide his combustible premises into useful tenements. I cannot restore Alsace; but you can be compensated with Hainault and Brabant. Limburg and Luxemburg will round off my possessions." In such a case the Flemings might do

* "Belgian Socialism," in this *Review*, No. 338, N. S.

worse than tender their return to the old Dutch rule; and if the heir-apparent to the Belgian crown objected to the loss of his birthright, he might be consoled by the hand of the young Queen of Holland, with the crown-matrimonial of the United Netherlands.

If such a destiny should—as may well be—offend the growing patriotism of Belgians, they should seriously consider their position, in the light thrown upon it by the writings of one who was at once a patriotic Belgian and a publicist, accepted as a master all over Europe and further yet. Born at Bruges, of a Flemish mother, the deceased author was Walloon. French by the father's side, he passed the most impressionable years of his life at the College Stanislas of Paris. Bred a Catholic, he became an Evangelical Protestant from study and reflection: with an ardent love of political science, he was warmly devoted to literature and art: he had the Teuton seriousness without being heavy or narrow, and the Latin vivacity unstained by levity or vice. He graduated at Ghent in 1844, and almost immediately took his place as a writer; making his first campaigns in the *Flandre Liberale*, under the leading of Francois Huet, author of the *Christianisme Social*, a precursor of whom he afterwards bore testimony that he had aroused in the Belgian youth "the noble longing for light and justice." The next influence under which he passed was that of the speculative Proudhon, inventor of the famous formula that "property is theft." From these teachers he soon broke away, but not without receiving into his mind whatever good was in their lessons. He continued, through life, a sympathetic champion of the cause of labour; and he always thought that Government was a business that was generally overdone. In 1853 Laveleye married, and soon after he became Professor of Political Economy at the University of Liege, where he chiefly resided for the remainder of his life-time. For the next few years he devoted himself to teaching and writing in foreign periodicals—mainly in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Contemporary* and the *Fortnightly Review*, employing his vacations in travelling over the most interesting countries of the Old World. In 1882 appeared the result of this mingled life of study and observation, in the shape of a treatise on the *Elements of Political Economy*, in which he analysed the laws of production in their dependence on human regulation and the action of the State.* Of this work four editions successively appeared in French, besides versions in Dutch, English, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, Portuguese, Bulgarian, and Japanese. If any surprise be felt that German is not among these languages, one may be permitted to remark

* *Elements d Economie Politique*, Paris, Hachette, 1882, 325 pages.

that the brave and thoughtful races of Central Europe are the least disposed of all civilised mankind to profit by such labours.

The next work of importance that proceeded from the pen of Laveleye was that already cited, on Socialism; and this proved more to the taste of the compatriots of Bismarck.* Finally, even in this hurried sketch, ought to be mentioned *Le Gouvernement dans la Démocratie* (Paris 1891), a vast and monumental work, by which he closed his career. Those who desire to realise the benevolent earnestness of the author's mind could not do so better than by comparing this book with that on the same subject by his brilliant British contemporary, Sumner Maine (*Popular Government*, 1885).

Laveleye was suddenly carried off, by influenza, in January 1892; and his loss was lamented in his own country, in England, and in France, all of which he loved, and in all of which he had numerous admirers. Such a man may find his "grave in our short memories," as Sir Thomas Browne says. Yet his better part cannot wholly die. He would have been the last man to crave a personal monument, although he has, in fact, found one raised by the pious hands of a distinguished friend.† An injudicious French admirer once told Laveleye to his face that he was a second Montesquieu. "In every thing there are degrees," observed the author quietly. "When Dumas was asked his calling by a Rouen official, he answered that he might style himself dramatic author elsewhere than in the country of Corneille." [He was too decorous to add the courtesan's corollary: "And I, were it not in the country where they burned Joan of Arc, might style myself a Maid."] Assuredly there were fewer "degrees" between Montesquieu and Laveleye than there were between the author of *Antony* and the author of *Le Cid*. If the French jurist was greater in original philosophy and style, the Flemish economist holds his own in practical sagacity, and excels in sympathetic glow. Breathing into the dismal science a breath of warm life, Laveleye has many of the qualities required for an abiding influence. His earlier years had not been passed exclusively in study, the intervals of special pursuits having been filled in by riding, fencing, modern languages, history, and the practice of painting. Hence, making, indeed, little pretence to creative genius, his one attempt at fiction‡ being chiefly

* *Le Socialisme Contemporain* was translated into English, Swedish, Russian, Polish and German.

† *Emile de Laveleye; sa Vie et son œuvre.* Parle le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. Paris, Alcan; Brussels, Th. Falk, 1895.

‡ *Marina*; Scenes of Artistic Life in Rome. "Revue des deux Mondes," 1st June 1863.

noted for its descriptive passages, Laveleye's work may not betray what Sainte Beuve called :—"Le poete mort jeune à qui l'homme survit." Nevertheless the love of man and of all that cheers his dark and doubtful destiny distinguished whatever he wrote, and spread over his most scientific pages the charm of a spilt perfume.

It may seem as if the direct teaching of Laveleye were being forgotten in the tumult of the present contest. That is not the conclusion of his biographer. "Indirectly developed as it may be, the political effect of his writings is all the greater; being exerted at once on Conservatives, whom it teaches the urgency of reforms inspired by a sense of social justice, and on the party of progress, who learn to understand the necessity of organising the democracy in a spirit of freedom. We owe it to him that we have turned from the ancient quarrel between the monarchical principle and that of the republic to attach ourselves to the search of what will make the subjects happy. His fundamental thesis—that reason, rather than popular passion, is the criterion of right—tends to become more and more the justifying principle of Liberalism. Modern progressives adopt from him the task of protecting the Parliamentary system from misuse and *guarding Democracy against itself.*" That the work may prosper in their hands, will be the earnest wish of all true friends of Belgium, and of the still grander cause of European liberty.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IX.—SOME GLIMPSES OF INDIA IN PRE-MAHOMEDAN TIMES.

SOME further glimpses into Hindu Society as it existed of old before the Mahomedans came into India, than those hitherto presented by the labours of scholars, appear yet possible through the dramatic literature of the Hindus and their literature of fiction. In the present article we shall try to show how the Hindus and Buddhists lived together between the 8th and 11th century of the Christian era. Three points will be made clear. 1st. That in the early part of this period, though there might have been here and there a dynasty of Buddhist kings, the kings of the many petty kingdoms into which India was then divided, were Shaivite Hindus; but, notwithstanding the existence of a suppressed Brahminical feeling of intolerance, exhibited at the end of this period, there was not only tolerance, but good-will and friendship, evinced for the Buddhists by respectable people and the people at large, as also respect for their piety and wisdom and the sanctity of their Order. In this period, again, we discern how the process of incorporation of Buddhism into Hinduism, which had been going on for some time past, had assumed a shape of its own; the sacrificial system of the Hindus placed in the lowest stratum, fit object of execration for all; Buddhism, the path of superior wisdom, fit object for reverence, placed in the middle stratum; the system of Hinduism, based on benevolence, and made current to encounter Buddhism, in the highest stratum. *2ndly.*—That, in the later part of this period, especially at and about the time when the Mahomedans conquered India, there was a general aversion for the Buddhists. *3rdly.*—That, subsequently thereto, before the complete subjugation of India by the Mahomedans, there was a complete absence of Buddhistic elements in the social organization of India, and its presence was indicated in the mountainous countries of the north, traditionally peopled, according to the Hindus, by Vidhadharas.

In the first period, or close about it, according to the Chinese traveller, half the population of India belonged to the Buddhistic faith; in the next, the Buddhists appear to have been few in number; in the last, they were extinct, not that they had been bodily expelled from India, but that they had gone back to Hinduism.

The earliest work of this period is the ***Malatimadhava***. Bhavabhûti, its author, flourished in the 8th century of the Christian era. His works were written at the Court of Yasuvarman, sovereign of Kanouj, his patron, who reigned about 720 A. D.

The *Malatimadhava* was intended for public representation, and appears to have been acted on the stage. It would be absurd to suppose that its Brahmin author would not represent the prevalent opinion regarding Buddhists and Buddhism ; yet the *Malatimadhava* of Bhavabhuti furnishes an instance of how the Buddhists and the Hindus were living in the same society with mutual toleration and good-will. One of the principal characters in the piece is Kamandiki, a priestess of Buddha. From distant parts of India, students assemble at her school to study science. Devarata, the pious councillor of the King of Vidharbha, whose capital is Kundinapur, and Bharivasu, the minister of the sovereign of Pudmavati (Ojjein), are fellow students in her school. Bharivasu plights his faith to Devarata, before Kamandiki and her friend and pupil, Soudamini, that their children, when riper in years, shall be united in marriage. Kamandiki nurses Malati, daughter of Bharivasu, from her very infancy, she having been confided to her guardian care at first to ply her sports, and then, when more advanced in age, to learn the duties of her state. Devarata sends his son, Madhava, from Kundinapur, to study in Kamandiki's school.

The King of Pudmavati demands Malati in marriage for his favourite, Nandana. To evade this and to avoid the King's anger, Bharivasu entrusts the delicate task of bringing about a union, a union of love, between Malati and Madhava, to Kamandiki. In the studious concealment of their fathers' promises, and the tact by which Kamandiki brings on the several situations and the creation of mutual love, lies the success of the drama. Kamandiki, though from her saintly character it would not appear that she was capable of worldly wisdom, brings about the scenes between the lovers, without their knowing her plot, and, in the end, brings about the denouement of the whole plot, a secret marriage and elopement, without the parties even suspecting, before the actual event, what it was to be. The sympathy for human passions and feelings, notwithstanding her asceticism, and the religion of dispassion she follows, is very strong. It shows either that the author was unable to take an exact measure of the effects of the practices and precepts of Buddhism on an ascetic's life, or that the living examples of Buddha's devotees, in contact with a lay every-day world, and with modes of life not prescribed by their own creed, underwent a modification of their pristine rigidity, and were really such as the author described in *Malatimadhava*. The latter, however, appears to have been the case. The supernatural apart, which, again, is based on popular beliefs, and and which forms a part of the plot, in the description of human passions, which were to be represented in a drama on the stage before an audience, no author, even though he might be

inferior to Bhavabhuti, would be guilty of describing them in such colours that the falsity of the description would be discernible to every eye.

Here, then, we have, in Kamandiki, an example of the incorporation of the two faiths, though they yet retained in India their distinctive organizations. She moves in respectable Hindu houses; she is revered and respected by the inmates; she goes into the temples without their being defiled, and she is the tutoress of two generations of men and the nurse of Malati, whom she teaches the duties of her station, while professing her own faith, clad in weeds and living on alms obtained once a day. Much of this has taken place because Buddhism has lost its militant character, and is no longer the despiser of the Vedas and the Brahmins. Kamandiki, though a Buddhist priestess, versed in sciences, so as to be widely known, the tutor of Soudamini and the ministers, Bharivasu and Devarata, is yet made to profess belief in popular prejudices. In order to bring about a situation favourable to the lovers, she persuades Malati to go to the garden to gather flowers with her own hand, telling her: "This is the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight; the god Sankara is to be propitiated with offerings of flowers gathered by one's own hand."

There are yet two other characters introduced in the play, showing how Buddhism and Hinduism were then acting and re-acting on each other, and how the process of incorporation was going on. Soudamini and Kapalkundala are both endowed with supernatural powers; one is represented as a priestess, exercising her powers for beneficence, the other as exercising her powers for malignity. Both are described as Hindus, believing in Hindu Gods and Goddesses, and acquiring their supernatural powers through their favour, with this difference, that one worships them in their beneficent forms, and acquires powers for good, the other through forms which are horrid and malignant. Soudamini is the resultant of the contact of Buddhism with Hindu beliefs, or rather the fruit of incorporation of the cardinal points of Buddhistic beliefs into Hinduism. Like its sacred Bo-tree, Buddhism, growing in the Indian soil, came to be claimed by the Hindus as their own. There was nothing of exoteric in it, and there was no difficulty whatever in assimilating with their own system its idea of the perfected man, its idea of dispassion, its idea of final emancipation, and, above all, its idea of universal benevolence. Its godlessness, however, had to be given up, and in giving it up they substituted the God Shiva, or some one of the Avatars of Vishnu, for the man Buddha.

Thus what was of the best amongst the Buddhists was, to a Hindu writer, his. Soudamini, as the embodiment of this new

spirit of Hinduism, notwithstanding her acquisition of supernatural will-force and powers, on Mount Śri Parvata, by desperate penances and by favour of the God Shiva, does not readily forget her obligation to the Buddhistic principles as embodied in Kamandiki. She calls Kamandiki the holy dame, and offers her the homage due from a pupil to her master. Kamandiki says: "Dismiss this reverence, and let me, grateful, press thee to my bosom. Thou hast deserved the praises of the world; thy lofty powers, the *harvest of the seed by early study sown*, are shown by deeds that shame the loftiest masters (Bodhisatta)." A Bodhisatta is, according to the Buddhists, a pious person endowed with miraculous powers, one who is regarded as an inferior incarnation of Buddha. And, were it not for the fact that the author, in describing the descent of Soudamini from her mountain height, makes her bow down to Sharnovindu (the name of a Śiva Linga) on seeing his fane near Pudmavati, it would appear that one object of the drama was to show how a Buddhisatwa, by his miraculous powers obtained over nature, triumphs, out of his benevolent spirit, over the malignant demons as embodied in Kapalakundala. For a Brahmanical writer, it was necessary to show that this miraculous power, then a common belief amongst the Hindus and Buddhists who formed the audience, as obtainable through Yoga, was Hindu, and only obtainable through penances and favour of the Hindu Gods.

This miraculous triumph over nature, whatever it might mean, the result of the complete development of will-force, the possibility of which had been always admitted by the Hindus, they now came to associate, through the influence of Buddhism, with Yoga in all forms, and as a power which, even if attainable through animal sacrifices, should not be attained through that means, and should be attained for the benefits of mankind, and not for malignant purposes. This is the change indicated, and this was how and why the incorporation was made. Kapalakundala, of the opposite cult, the disciple of Aghorekhanta, revels in her vindictive nature and in human sacrifices, and Aghorekhanta strives to attain his highest wish through the sacrifice of Malati in the temple of Chamunda. Aghorekhanta meets with his well-deserved fate at the hand of Madhava, to the great relief of the audience, before whom the play was enacted, and the benevolent spirit of Soudamini triumphs at the end over the malignant nature of Kapalakundala.

One of the most interesting points, to be gathered from the constant praise of Kamandiki, the priestess of Buddha, of the piety of Devarata, is that Devarata, the minister referred to in the play, and not brought on the stage, was a believer in

Buddhism—and thus it would appear that, even in high places, Buddhism was not extinct. A Hindu King had, for his trusted minister, a Buddhist, and this minister was supreme in the State, as the King had made over all power to him. The minister Bharivasu, appears to have been of the Hindu faith, and the marriage of Malati with Madhava was between a female belonging to a Hindu family and a male belonging to a Buddhist family. Possibly they were of the same caste, or of castes between whom marriage was permissible, and the difference was only one of faith. That such a marriage was not only possible, but not reprobated, in the day of Bhavabhuti, shows how people of the Brahmanical faith and people of the Buddhistic faith were living together under almost the same kind of social organization.

We have seen that in Bhavabhuti's drama there is abundance of good-will shown to the Buddhists, and it is striking that we do not meet with a single word of reprobation, or even an indistinct expression of Brahminical intolerance, such as we meet in the next drama *Mrichakatika*.

The prelude of the drama *Mrichakatika* attributes the authorship to a King, by name Sudraka, who, it says, after having performed an Aswamedha, and having attained the age of a hundred years and ten days, immolated himself by entering the fatal fire. It is extremely unlikely, then, that King Sudraka, whoever he was, was the author of the drama. The play, apparently was intended for the stage, and, from the circumstance of the immolation of King Sudraka being mentioned in the prelude, it is clear it was not enacted during his life-time, and it can hardly be conceived that a royal writer, either writing himself, or passing the writing of some one else as his own, for the purpose of stage representation, would not have carried his idea into execution. It will, perhaps, be said that the prelude (Nandi portion) of the drama, in which Sudraka's death is referred to, was written subsequently to the composition of the main play. It cannot be that King Sudraka, having taken the play in hand, left only the Nandi unfinished. This would be the first portion to be written ; and King Sudraka, who is said to have lived one hundred years and ten days, could not have taken the play in hand in his closing years. There is yet another argument against the royal authorship of the play. It is not in the nature of things that a King, settled in his kingdom, which he is said to have passed to his son, would have taken to writing how a revolution in a kingdom, with the fall of the old dynasty, might be brought about on account of misdeeds of its King and his brother-in-law. Yet this is one of the plots of the play, closely interwoven with the other plot, the love of Charudatta, a Brahmin of distinguished rank, but of

exceeding poverty, and Vasuntasena, a courtesan, who was enamoured of his many excellencies.

The drama, according to the prelude, exhibits the infamy of wickedness (here of the King and of his brother-in-law), the villainy of law (or rather of the interference with its administration by the said brother-in-law and by the King himself), the efficacy of virtue (or rather the success of a revolution against the established order of things), and it is quite possible that, under the disguise of Sudraka, an anonymous writer, chafing under the misgovernment of his day, wrote the play as a warning to the powers that were. Over what kingdom Sudraka ruled, is not mentioned in the prelude. Professor Wilson says: "The writer of Kamandika says it was Avanti, or Oujein; tradition, especially in the Deccan, includes him amongst the universal monarchs of India, and places him between Chandra Gupta and Vikramaditya, without specifying his capital. The late Colonel Wilford (As. Res. Vol. IX) considers him the same with the founder of the Andhra dynasty of Magadha Kings, succeeding to the throne by deposing his master, the last of the Kanwa race, to whom he was minister; but these assertions are very questionable. The circumstances are, in fact, attributed, it is said, to a prince named Balihita, or Sipraka, or Sindhuka, or Mahakarni, and the identification of Sudraka with either or all of these rests upon chronological data by no means satisfactorily established. From these it appears that the first Andra King of Magadha reigned 456 years earlier than the last, or Pulimat, who, it is said, died A. D. 648. Consequently the former reigned about A. D. 192. But it is stated, in a work called Kumarika Khanda, a portion of the Skandha Puran, that, in the year of the Kali 3300, save 10, a great King would reign (it does not appear where), named Sudraka. This date, in our era, is 190; the date of the first Andhra King, as mentioned above, is 192; therefore Sudraka must be that King: a deduction which may possibly be correct, but which depends too much upon the accuracy of a work very little known, and upon a calculation that yet requires to be revised, to be considered as decidedly invalidating the popular notion, that Sudraka preceded Vikramaditya, and consequently the era of Christianity, by a century at least." Later researches have shown that Vikramaditya the Great flourished in the sixth century of the Christian era, so the alleged popular notion that one King Sudraka came between Chandra Gupta and Vikramaditya, as a Chakrabartri King of India, is not invalidated by placing King Sudraka of Andhra, as Colonel Wilford did, in 192 A. D.

But we have shown that the authorship of King Sudraka, is

a myth set up with the object of covering an anonymity, and that, as the play itself shows, for a purpose of its own.

Professor Wilson's other arguments for considering *Mricha-katika* the oldest extant specimen of the Hindu drama, are the following:—

1*st*. The style, though not meagre, is in general simple and unartificial, and of a day evidently preceding the elaborate richness of Hindu writing, not to speak of the fantastic tricks and abuses which began to disgrace Sanskrit composition apparently in the ninth and tenth centuries.

2*nd*. A peculiarity in the language of one of the chief characters. Samastthanaka, the Rajah's brother-in-law, affects literature; and, though he misquotes names of personages and events from the Mahabharata and Ramayana, in a most idiotic way, he never alludes to the chief actors in the Pauranik legends, as Druva, Daksha, Prahlada, Bali, &c., &c.

3*rd*. Peculiarities in manners contribute to a similar conclusion, and the very panegyric upon Sudraka, specifying his voluntary cremation, when arrived at extreme old age, praises him for an act proscribed in the Kali, or present, period of the world.

The subject of the piece, the love of a respectable Brahmin for a courtesan, is also in favour of a period of some remoteness, although it may be allowed to mark a state of social demoralization, a decline from the purity of Hindu institutions.

4*th*. The most unquestionable proof, however, of high antiquity, is the accuracy with which the Baudha observances are adverted to, and the flourishing condition in which the members of that sect are represented to exist. There is not only absolute toleration, but a kind of public recognition.

As to these arguments. The style is not so simple and unartificial as that of Kalidas or Bhavabhuti, and Bhavabhuti flourished in the first half of the 8th century; the Ratnavali style commenced in the 12th century, and the style of the *Mricha-katika* meets the first argument of Professor Wilson in favour of remoteness, if the drama be assigned to the last half of the 8th century, or the beginning of the ninth.

As to the second argument. Samasthanaka misquotes names of personages and their relationships in a most idiotic way. It was intended for fun to the popular mind, which could at once see the affectation of literature and the stupidity of the man through its misapplication in an absurd fashion and in a way readily detectable. The personages and events which Samasthanaka alludes to, are to be found in the Mahabharata and Ramayana, as also in the Pauranick legends; but the object of the poet is better attained by erroneous allusions to such characters as are more popularly known, such as his saying,

at the beginning of his appearance on the scene: "You will trip into my hands, as Kunti fell into those of Ravana;" "You run from us, as Draupadi fled from Rama," than by his alluding erroneously to personages, such as Druva, Daksha, Prahlada, Bali, who are less known. By mixing up personages and events more popularly known, the audience are at once led to mark out Samasthanaka for an ignoramus and a fool, as the object of the poet was to make him out to be. But there are clear references to Pauranick customs in other parts of the play.

As to the third argument. We have an instance in *Malatimadhava*. The minister, Bharivasu, in a fit of grief, though prevented by the King and his favourite, Nandana, was about entering the fatal fire to immolate himself, when he was asked not to do so by Soudamini from on high; and *Malatimadhava* is admittedly of the 8th century of the Christian era.

As to the fourth argument. It is clear, as will be hereafter shown, that the position of the Buddhists is not so high, and their relationship with the Hindus not so satisfactory, as it was when *Malatimadhava* was written and came on the stage.

There is clear internal evidence to show that the play of *Mrichakatika* was written after the time of Bhavabhuti. 1st. The Court of Justice and the Judicial procedure described in *Mrichakatika* have the elaborate constitution of Courts and Judicial procedure laid down in the Mitakshara Commentary of Yajavalka, said to have been written in the 8th century of the Christian era. There is a deterioration in the strict course of justice, which marks a decline even there, and the author speaks of it in the introduction as the "Villainy of law." 2nd. The whole play evidences a luxurious state of society, which precedes its decay. There is no public opinion against a Brahmin, who has a virtuous wife and a son by her, reciprocating the love of Vasantasena, the courtesan, described as the pride of Oujein, and living in splendour and luxury in a palace, worthy of a king. Charudatta, though poverty-stricken, going to a public garden, after his morning ablutions, and leaving orders for the conveyance of Vasantasena, in a covered litter to it, where evidently he proposed to himself the pleasure of spending the best part of the day, and doing all this in the face of the whole household, and of a patient and virtuous wife, without being in any way injured in their opinion, marks a period of utter demoralization, the like of which was at no time possible for Hindu society, except when it was coming to its close, and the remnants of which, even to a great extent, survive to the present day. 3rd. It was of a time when Brahmins had taken to merchantile pursuits.

Charudatta, the hero, is a Brahmin merchant, the son of Sagaradatta, the grandson of Provost Vinayadatta. He lives near the exchange, with the other Srestis (merchants), and is the chief of their guild. Had it not been for the reference to the Brahminical caste of the hero in the introduction, and for one or two other incidents at the end, Charudatta would have been taken for a non-Brahmin (a Vaisya). It is more like what we see in the present day, than what we read of Brahmins at any antecedent period. 4th. The time had come when the divine rights of Kings, and their divine nature, their divine justice, are no longer things which keep people in awe. The revolution in the kingdom goes on in a connected thread, in the Hindu way, never so well indicated in any other Hindu literature, side by side with the love story of Charudatta and Vasantasena, until both end in success, the one by the success of the other. The first inkling we get of it is almost at the beginning, when, after hearing a public announcement of the arrest and imprisonment of Aryaka, the cow-herd and the future King, Sarvilaka says: "Now then to raise the friends of Aryaka, our kindred and associates. All who deem the King has wronged their will and all who trust the prowess of their arms. We will redeem our chief from bonds, as by his faithful ministers Udayana was rescued." 5th. The indistinct expression of Brahminical intolerance towards the Buddhists, which was not yet of a pronounced form, showing how public opinion about the Buddhists, arising possibly out of the decrease of their number and the decline of their influence, had changed for the worse since the time of Bhavabhuti.

And to this last head, to review the thread of our narration, we now turn. Charudatta, the hero, who has reduced himself to poverty by charity, yet indistinctly shows his Brahminical uncharitableness and Brahminical intolerance, not yet current amongst other classes, against Buddhism, by having already and thus early embibed the prejudices which the Brahmins had designed to spite the Buddhists, and which prejudices they would have been glad long before to see generally adopted, if they had not been before this restrained by the influence, the power, the exalted position and the number of Buddhists. At the end of the 7th Act, Charudatta (going) sees a Sramanaka, "a Boudha mendicant," and says: "Ha, an evil omen, a heretic (Sramanka) approaches us (stops); yet hold! Let him advance, we'll take another path." This is the only Buddhist character introduced into the play. His name is Samvahaka, a quondam attendant of Charudatta, who was discharged from his service when Charudatta was reduced to straitened circumstances. He then took to gambling, and, having lost

10 sovereigns, was flying from the pursuit of the master of the gambling table. From such pursuit he took refuge in the house of Vasantasena. When questioned by Vasantasena, after giving her his antecedents, he says: "As I find my profession (gambling), only begets disgrace, I will become a Boudha Mendicant (Sakkhya Samandoka). In bidding adieu to gambling, I can now hold my head boldly as I go along the public road." This shows the spirit of the Brahminical writer, for we hold the author, whoever he was, to be not King Sudraka, but a Brahmin. It is the beginning of that aversion manifest in subsequent Hindu literature, which associates Buddhism with everything that is contemptible and vile. Yet all this is hidden and covert. The Samvahaka (Sramanaka) is afterwards brought in as the person who saves Vasantasena when she was left as dead by the King's brother-in-law, who had strangled her because she had declined to listen to his proposals. Sramanaka finds her in an unconscious state and says: "It is the body of Vasantasena, the devoted worshipper of Buddha. Rise, lady, rise; drag yourself to this tree; here hold by the creeper (bends it down to her, she lays hold of it and rises). In a neighbouring convent dwells a holy sister; rest a while with her, lady, and recover your spirits—gently, lady, gently (they proceed) stand aside, good friends, stand aside, make way for a young female and a poor beggar. It is my duty to restrain the hands and mouth, and keep the passions in subjection." Though we find, in the quotation given above, a recognition of the Buddhistic order and of respect shown to the order by people in general, there yet lurks under it a good deal of covered ridicule. Buddhism is exposed by the Sramanaka not even being permitted to help with his hands a dying female whom he knows, and to whom he admits he is bound by the ties of gratitude. Again, the Sramanaka, while leading Vasantasena to Charudatta's house, hears the proclamation made by the Chandalas about the order for the execution of Charudutta, while they lead him to the place of execution. He arrives just in time, and saves the life of Charudutta. But even here the Sramanaka is made to exclaim: "Bless me, what shall I do: thus leading Vasantsena, am I acting conformably to the laws of my order?" In the last Act, Charudutta thus addresses his saviour: "Speak, Sramanaka, your wishes." Sramanaka says: "To follow still the path I have selected. For all I see is full of care and change." Charudutta: "Since such is his resolve, let him be made chief of the monasteries of the Buddhas (Kulapati in the Viharas throughout the land)."

Sramanaka.—"It likes me well."

To sum up.—The *Mricchakatika* is a work written, not by King Sudraka, but by a Brahmin, who came after Bhavabhuti.

either in the latter half of the 8th century, or the beginning of the 9th. That the author was a Brahmin, is clear from the fact that one of his objects was to show that the Brahminical privilege of exemption from capital sentence could not be assailed with impunity. At this period, a covert attack was being made on the Buddhists and their doctrines by the Brahmins, and this was finding an indistinct expression in their dramatic literature. Notwithstanding this attack, public feeling had not yet changed; Buddhists could boldly walk in the streets, and people had respect for the holy men of their creed; Buddhism was yet flourishing, with their Viharas for monastic orders and Viharas for female devotees, and these had public recognition, and their Kulapati (head) was appointed by government orders.

We come to the second head of our subject—the period from the last half of the 10th to the early part of the 12th century of the Christian era. The literature of this period is marked by a general aversion to the Buddhists, not in any way covert, but open and pronounced. We shall exemplify this by reference to the Dasa Kumar Charita of Dandi, the Vrihat Katha of Soma Deva, and the drama, Mudra Rakshasha. Even if other indications had been wanting, the reversion of popular feelings regarding the Buddhists, as pourtrayed by Dandi, would have been sufficiently indicative of the fact that Dandi flourished at a much later date than Bhavabhuti. Tradition affirms the contemporary existence of Dandi, the author of the Dasa Kumar Charita, and Bhoja Deva Rajah of Dhara, the celebrated patron of men of letters at the end of the 10th century; but the last of the stories, which relates to a prince of the race of Bhoja—Bhoja Vansa, necessarily implies the prior existence of Bhoja Rajah. Professor Wilson says: "This would be fatal to the evidence of the tradition, as well as the general tenor of the composition, if there were not a possibility that the story in which the Bhoja Vansa is alluded to, is not a part of the original work." Professor Wilson then examines the considerations which throw doubt on the genuineness of this portion of the work, and then proceeds to say: "If the work be, as it stands, the composition of Dandi, he must have flourished some time after the Bhoja, and we shall, perhaps, be not far wide of the truth in placing his composition late in the 11th, or early in the 12th century." There is, however, no question that the work gives us some glimpses of the period just antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest of India. Dandi's narratives refer to a state of society in which Buddhism no longer happens to be the religion of the kings, or of nobles, but is not yet extinct in India. Its distinction from Jainism has been almost forgotten; the one is sometimes confounded

with the other. There is, however, a propaganda yet left in India, under which Hindus are converted from the faith of their fathers to the Buddhistic faith, to the annoyance of the Brahmins. Thus we find, in the story of Aparhara Varma, the episode of Vasupalita. Aparhara Varma says: "As I advanced (towards Champa, a town near modern Bhagalpur, then a flourishing place), I passed a Vihara (a convent of Boudha ascetics), where, seated under an Asoka tree, in a grove by the road side, I beheld a miserable Boudha Mendicant; the tears fell from his filthy breast." Mark the contemptuous tone adopted. Vasupalita, being asked, gives his story, which, however, is not relevant to our present purpose. Then he goes on: "Unable to face the ridicule and contempt of my fellow citizens, I came and took up my abode in this convent, where, under the tuition of a holy sage, I sought the path to final emancipation. I fear I have mistaken the road, and, in deviating from the faith and observances of my progenitors, I follow an impure track as if it were that of virtue, disregarding the Vedas and Smritis, abandoning the distinction of my caste, and constantly listening to blasphemy of the gods. On this account I seek these shades, to bewail my helpless condition."

The author shows his contempt for the opposing cult by placing men and women of the Boudha persuasion in very disreputable situations. Thus, one of them, a female mendicant of the Boudha order, is described as holding the position of principal agent to Kama Munjari, a woman of the town.

In the story of Nitamvabati, Sramanaka, a female devotee of the Buddhist persuasion, turns procuress for the wretched perquisite of the clothes of the dead, which she receives from a lascivious youth in charge of the cemetery, to induce her to corrupt the virtue of a woman, hitherto chaste, whom she places in the hands of the youth, deceiving her by pretences of sanctity and knowledge of charms. The author exposes the hypocrisy of the Buddhists by making the female devotee protest before her trick had been effectually played out. He makes her say: "Persons like us are fully acquainted with the insufficiency of life, and, only desirous of final emancipation, cannot be suspected of entertaining any purpose adverse to the reputation of women of respectability."

There is evidence also that Buddhist histories have been almost forgotten, and their places of pilgrimages appropriated by the Hindus. Thus Darpasara, to whom his father Manasara, in his old age, has ceded his kingdom of Ujjeini, a king described as a Hindu king, in the hope of overcoming the world, went to Rajagriha to practise austerities.

In the Brihatkatha of Somadeva, written, according to the

author, for the recreation and amusement of the grandmother of Harshadeva, King of Kashmir, who, according to Abul Fazl, reigned from 1059 to 1071 A. D., similar contemptuous references to Buddhists and their doctrine of transmigration are found. Thus, in the story of Guhasena, we find again a female devotee of the Buddhistic persuasion figuring in the character of a procuress. Four young merchants, attracted by the report of the beauty of Guhasena's wife, Devasmita, and her reputation of chastity, set out from the island of Kataha to seduce Devasmita, who was living at the family residence at Tamralipta during the absence of her husband on business at Kataha. "On arriving at Tamralipta, they looked out for a proper agent of their iniquitous design, and soon found one in the person of an old Buddha priestess, named Jogakarandika (mark the name), with whom they formed an intimacy. Being secure of her friendly disposition, they communicated their purpose, and promised to reward her liberally if she would assist them in their views on Devasmita. She very readily promised to aid them.

"Accordingly the old priestess set about forming an acquaintance with Devasmita, and, leading with her a bitch in a chain, repaired to her house. The wife of Guhaseva, although mistrustful of her purpose, desired her to be admitted, and enquired what she wanted. The old priestess replied that she had been long desirous of beholding so much excellence; but that she had now been directed in a dream to visit Devasmita to advise her not to lose, in joyless widowhood, the precious moments of her youth. Devasmita pretended to listen favourably to these and similar suggestions, and the old woman departed well satisfied with the impression she had made.

"On the day following, she repeated her visit to the wife Guhaseva, taking with her the bitch as before, and some morsels of meat highly seasoned. These she contrived to give the animal, till, from the effects of the pepper, the tears trickled in large quantities from its eyes, so as to attract the notice of Devasmita. She bewails, said the woman, in answer to her remarks, the errors of her former life; and then told her that the bitch and she were, in their former existence, the joint wives of a Brahmin, who was frequently employed on foreign missions by the King of the country; that, during his absence, she had never imposed any restraint upon her inclinations; but her companion had been more rigid, and had severely repressed the natural sentiments of her age and sex. The consequence of their different line of conduct, was their respective births in the characters in which they now appeared. The old woman concluded by

recommending Devasmita to take warning from the story, and to learn that nature was not to be outraged with impunity." How Devasmita treated the gallants one by one, and then ultimately proceeded to Kataha; where they had fled immediately after the treatment they had received at her house, and claimed them as her run-away slaves, identifying them by certain marks she had caused to be made on their forehead, has no relevance to our present subject.

Thus, in popular estimation, the Buddhists and Buddhistic doctrines came to he associated with everything that was vile and wicked.

In the Mudra Rakshasha of Visakadatta, son of Prithu Maharaj and grandson of the chieftain Vateswara, which, from the closing speech of the drama, clearly appears to have been written after the victorious progress of a foreign foe, probably Mohamad of Ghazni, the same sort of feeling is discernible. A Brahmin, Indarsurma, a friend of Kautilya, under the guise of a Boudha mendicant, and the assumed name of Jivisidha, acts the spy.

There remain to notice, two other dramatic works bearing on the third head of the subject of this article—the Nagananda and the Ratnavali. Both are supposed to have been written by the same author. In the Ratnavali, though Sagarika, the princess of Ceylon, and Vasubhuti, the ambassador of the King of Ceylon, come from a Buddhist country, no mention of Buddhism is made. The Nagananda is decidedly a Buddhist play; it exhibits a state of society where Buddhism has been mixed up with Hinduism, and the Hindu gods and goddesses, especially Gauri, have been introduced by the Buddhists into their pantheon: Just such a mixture as is to be found amongst the Nepalese of the present date. With reference to the authorship of the Ratnavali, the manager in the prelude says: "I have been desired by the princes here assembled from various realms, recumbent at the feet of our illustrious monarch, Sri Harsha Deva, and who are collected together at this vernal festival, to represent for their entertainment the unequalled drama entitled Ratnavali, the elegant composition of our sovereign." That the drama Ratnavali was composed after the Vrihatkatha, is evident from the fact that the author, retaining the story of Vatsa as it is, substitutes Pudmavati, princess of Maghada, of the Vrihatkatha, for Sagarika, princess of Ceylon; and, in the main, refines on the story as given in the earlier work, which kept itself up to the earlier original, as traditionally handed down. Referring to the authorship, Professor Wilson says: "It is stated in the prelude to be the composition, of the sovereign, Sri Harsha Deva. A king of this name, and a great patron of learned men, reigned over

Kashmir. He was the reputed author of several works bearing his name, being written, the author of the Kavya Prokash asserts, by Dhavaka and other poets. * * * Sri Harsha Deva ascended the throne A. D. 1113; and the play must have been written between that date and A. D. 1125, the termination of his reign. * * * The date thus assigned for the composition refers to a period which Mohamadan history and Hindu literature sufficiently establish as pregnant with important changes in the political situation and national character of the natives of Hindustan."

With reference to the Nagananda, which possibly did not come to the notice of Professor Wilson, as it is not to be found in his list of Sanskrit dramatic literature, Professor Cowell, in the Introduction to Mr. Boyd's translation of that work, published in 1872, says: "It is the sister play of Ratnavali quoted in Sahityadarpana (pp. 89, 184, 189 and 244) and in the Dasarupa (pp. 64, 65, 74, 178). Dhananjaya, the author of Dasa Rupa, flourished in the court of King Munija, and as no other sovereign of that name flourished in any known list of kings, this is, no doubt, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja of Dhara. From a date given in a Jaina poem (Colebrook's Essays, II, p. 53) we find that Munija was reigning A. D. 993. Dhananjaya's date is also confirmed by the fact that Hem Chandra, who lived 1174 A. D., in his commentary, in his own Abhidana Chintamoni, quotes the Dasa Rupa, which proves that the author was then of sufficient antiquity to be taken as an authority on a grammarian's work. The Ratnavali is also quoted in the Saraswati Kantha Bharana, which is ascribed to King Bhoja who reigned in the 11th century. The Ratnavali, therefore, and the Nagananda, and the King Sri Harsha Deva, who is mentioned as the author, must be placed in an earlier period than that of Bhoja or his uncle Munija. This at once shows that Wilson's conjecture is untenable, that the Sri Harsha of the Ratnavali could have been the Harsha Deva of Kashmir, who reigned from A. D. 1113 to 1125."

"Dr. Hall, on good reasons, attributes Ratnavali to poet *Bana.*

"Harsha Charita (Sahitya Durpan, p 210) begins with the first verse of Ratnavali. Kavya Prokash mentions Dhavaka as an instance of poetry procuring wealth in his relation with King Sri Harsha. I would ascribe Ratnavali to *Bana*, and Nagananda to Dhavaka. It is true no solitary fragment of poetry is attributed to the author of that name. Brahminical memory might easily drop a Buddhist poet. Dr. Hall has thrown considerable light on the time when Bana and the King who patronized him flourished, by his discovery of Harsha Charita. In this poem Bana celebrates the family and the reign of his

patron, Harsha, or Harsha Vardhana, and the history agrees so well with that given in Hiouen Thchang, of Harsh-Vardhana, or Siladitya, the King of Kanouj, in the first half of the 7th century, that we can hardly feel any doubt as to their being the same person.

"There can be no doubt, I think, that the king of our two plays, is a different person from Sri Harsha, who wrote the Naisadha and the Khandana Khanda Khedya, as the latter, in the closing verses of both works, speaks of himself as the dependant of King of Kanouj, and boasts of the allowance of betel granted him at the Court. Babu Rajendra Lala Mittra has conjectured that he may have been the Sri Harsha who, according to tradition, was one of the five Kanouj Brahmins who were invited into Bengal by Adisur, in the 10th century, the chief argument being that the author of Naisada names among his works 'A Description of the Sea' and 'History of the Kings of Bengal.' Dr. Buhler, in the Antiquary, refutes this theory."

To sum up. 1st. Both Ratnavali and Nagananda are stated in the prelude to be the works of the sovereign Sri Harsha. 2nd. Professor Wilson, who does not refer to Nagananda, says that Sri Harsha of Ratnavali was the Sri Harsha Deva of Cashmere, who reigned 1113 to 1125 A.D. 3rd. Prof. Cowell, on the authority of Dr. Hall, believes that Ratnavali was the work of the poet Bana, and Nagananda the work of Dhavaka, both poets flourishing in the reign of Sri Harsha, whom the Professor identifies with Harsha Vardhan. of Hiouen Thchang, the King of Kanouj, who reigned in the first half of the 7th centurv. Professor Cowell's arguments are—

(*a.*) Nagananda is quoted in Dasa Rupa, the date of which the Professor fixes in the last end of the 10th century of the Christian era.

(*b.*) Ratnavali is mentioned in Saraswiti Kantha Bharana, ascribed to King Bhoja of the 11th century.

4*th.* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mittra conjectured that Ratnavali was written by one of the five Brahmins of Kanouj who came to Bengal in the 10th century.

Amidst these divergences of opinion between scholars, who are authorities on Sanskrit literature, it is, perhaps, an impertinence to say that all these attempts at fixing the dates of the Ratnavali and Nagananda, are based on conjectural grounds, and it is surprising that these guesses should have been made while the Ratnavali itself furnishes a more than satisfactory clue as to the time when it was written.

The princess Ratnavali, or Sagarika, as she is called in the first portion of the drama, before her identity is discovered, is the princess of Ceylon. In the drama, when Sagarika is discovered to be the princess of Ceylon, who was shipwrecked

on the way from Ceylon to Kausambi, the Queen Vasavadata asks : " Is this Ratnavali ?" The King Vatsa asks : " Is this the daughter of Vikrama Bahu of the house of Udatta, the sovereign of Singhala ?" Vasúbhuti, the ambassador of the King of Ceylon, says : " In consequence of the prophesy of the seer, that whoever should wed Ratnavali, my master's daughter, should become the master of the world, your majesty's minister, as you are aware, solicited her for your bride. Unwilling, however, to be instrumental to the uneasiness of Vasavadatta, the King of Singhala declined compliance with his suit, and again my master, understanding at last that the Queen was dead, consented to give his daughter to Vatsa. We were deputed to conduct her hither, when, alas, our vessel was wrecked." The King of Ceylon is represented to be the maternal uncle of Vasavadatta, who was the daughter of the King of Oujein.

Now, there are four points in this story wherein it differs from the story of Vatsa Raja, as given in the Vrihat Katha, and in which it tallies, or nearly tallies, with the Cingalese history, as narrated in the Mahavansa. In the Cingalese history, there is a princess by name Ratnavali, of whom her father, who was a soothsayer, says : " This damsel's shall be the womb which shall conceive a son who, by his glory and liberality and wisdom and valour, shall surpass all kings that have been before him, or that shall come after him, in that he will deliver Lanka and bring it under one canopy of dominion, and be the protector of her religion, and adorn her throne with his many virtues."

In the Cingalese history, Ratnavali is the daughter of Vijya Bahu, the first of that name, who married Tiloka Sundari, princess of Kalinga. She was the fourth of five sisters, Vikram Bahu, the first of that name, being the only brother. Vijaya Bahu I was of the family of King *Udaya*, not *Udatta*, as in the play. The Princess Ratnavali was married to her father's sister's son, Manabharana, and was the mother of one of their great kings, Prarakrama Bahu. The similarity of the three names, Ratnavali, Vikrama Bahu and Udatta, and the similarity of the prediction, point to the fact that the Ratnavali was written long after the Cingalese history had travelled to the Continent. It would be a most violent and stupid conjecture to suppose that the Mahavansa, which, barring the legendary portions bearing on the miracles of Boudha and Bodhisatwa, is accurate in all its details, plagiarised names and events from the Sanskrit drama Ratnavali, without any motive whatever, and thus the plagiarised names were set in a connected history of a series of kings coming in a most trustworthy shape, and in a chronological order, which, as we

have pointed out elsewhere, differs only by a few years from dates to be found in Greek sources, the landmarks of all the dates now arranged for Indian events.

Now, according to the Mahavansa, Vikrama Bahu I was the 125th King from Vijaya Sena, and he succeeded in 1664 of the Buddhistic era of Ceylon, which is 1212 A.D. Allowing for the difference of the few years between the Cingalese era and the Greek dates, Vikrama Bahu would have reigned at the end of the 12th, or the beginning of the 13th, century of the Christian era. Some years must have passed in the history of Ceylon, before its names travelled over to the Continent, and the true history and relationships must have been forgotten in India, before an author could venture thus to interweave an Indian story with Cingalese traditions. There can be no doubt that the author of the Ratnavali, whoever he was, had heard of the Cingalese names and Cingalese tradition, and must have flourished, at the earliest, at either the end of the 12th, or the beginning of the 13th, century. Nagananda, the sister play, must have been composed about this period. The name of the author or authors must thus be unknown, or it is the work of a poet who was patronised by one of the petty Narapatis (kings) of the name of Sri Harsha Deva, of whom the identity is vain to seek. The Ratnavali must have made a reputation for him, and he was sent by his Narapati at the request of the Narapati (king) of a Buddha country, possibly Nepal, to compose a drama for representation in that court. Some of the imagery is Bengali; and probably research might yet show that Ratnavali was written by its Brahminical author for a prince of Telingana, where Cingalese historical names were commonly known, and Nagananda by the same author, when invited by the Nepal Court for theatrical performances before a Buddhistic audience in Nepal.

As for the works being quoted in Dasa Rupa and Saraswati Kanta Bharana, the dates of these works are uncertain and fixed on conjectural data, even if the quotations have not been subsequently interpolated in them to give them the sanctity of age and the sanction of authority by the manuscript writers of these works. One thing is certain, as Professor Wilson says with regard to works of this kind, that the style is ornate to a fault, and abounds in the fantastic tricks and abuses which began to disfigure Sanskrit composition apparently in the ninth and tenth centuries. Again, with reference to Ratnavali: "The Ratnavali, considered also under a purely literary point of view, marks a change in the principles of dramatic composition, as well as those of social organization. Besides the want of passion and the substitution of intrigue, it will be very evident that there is in it no

poetic spirit, no gleam of inspiration, scarce even enough to suggest a conceit in the ideas." This may be said of the Nagananda as well, and the important change in the social organization which they indicate, is the complete absence of Buddhistic elements, even as subjects of ridicule, the complete ignorance of the fact that Ceylon, though sufficiently known, was a Buddhist country, as seen in the Ratnavali, and the fact of Buddhism being driven to mountainous regions of the north, traditionally peopled, according to the Hindus, by Vidyadharas, as in the Nagananda.

GURU PRASHAD SEN.

27th February 1896.

THE QUARTER.

THE period that has elapsed since the date of our last retrospect has been marked by a succession of political events of more than ordinary importance, some of them attended by an even disproportionate amount of public excitement. The Ashanti expedition was then on its way to Kumassie. Shortly afterwards the curtain fell upon the Armenian tragi-comedy, with the grudging surrender of the Sultan on the altogether subsidiary and insignificant question of the extra guard-ships, not without leaving a heavy load upon the British conscience. The political barometer, abroad as well as at home, seemed, for the moment, to point to set-fair, when suddenly, like a thunder-bolt from a clear sky, President Cleveland's startling message to Congress on the Venezuelan boundary question burst upon an astonished public. Hardly had they had time to take the true bearings of the situation thus created, when Dr. Jameson's hare-brained escapade in the Transvaal, and the speedy and crushing retribution which attended it, provided them with an equally unexpected and scarcely less unpleasant sensation. Then, to invest the latter event with an altogether factitious importance, and cast the people of England into a fury of indignation, came the needlessly offensive message of the German Emperor to the Boer President. By way of diversion from these tumults and alarms, Lord Salisbury was able, about the same time, to inform the public that the long pending difference with France over the Siamese boundary question had been composed in a way which, if otherwise harmless, involved no small sacrifice of British pride; while a rumour has since gained currency, not, probably, wholly without foundation, that efforts are being made to re-open the Egyptian question. Finally, within the last few days, the Italians have suffered a crushing defeat, of which, it is to be feared, the end is not yet, at the hands of King Menelik in Abyssinia, followed by the suicide of General Baratieri and the resignation of the Crispi Ministry.

It would be impossible, within the space at our disposal, to give even the briefest consecutive narrative of the course of these important events. The most we can profitably attempt is to note here a salient feature, there a passing reflection, as we glance at them from the standpoint of the present. Of the Ashanti expedition, there is little of interest to record. The fighting column reached Kumassie unopposed, and its arrival

there was promptly followed by the submission of King Prempeh, who, with several members of his family and the more notorious of his adherents, has been deported to Elmineh, and by preparations for the election, in his place, of a fresh King-paramount by the Confederated chiefs. The mild satisfaction which the news of this success was calculated to excite, has been marred by the death of Prince Henry of Battenberg, who accompanied the expedition as Military Secretary to the General Commanding, and who succumbed to a fever contracted soon after his arrival on the coast.

It cannot be said that the Armenian question has undergone any fresh development during the period under review. But it has been made the subject of an explanation by the Prime Minister which places the situation in a light as clear as it is unsatisfactory, not to say humiliating, to England and to Europe. That explanation amounts practically to a confession that, though England and Europe can advise and threaten the Sultan, neither England nor Europe is in a position to enforce its advice or carry out its threats. The only way in which, as Lord Salisbury observed with perfect truth, force could be employed to protect the Armenians without doing them more harm than good, is by the military occupation of Armenia. But that is a measure which England could not carry out alone, and which the other Powers—or, in other words, France and Russia, with the acquiescence and encouragement of Germany—would not allow her to attempt to carry out alone without opposition; and, though it is a measure which Russia could carry out alone, she is unwilling to do so, and she is equally unwilling to see it carried out by the other Powers. The situation is specially humiliating to England, not, of course, because it is any discredit to her to be unable to coerce Turkey single-handed, still less because she is unable to induce Europe to unite with her in coercing Turkey, but because it is due to her action in the past that the deadlock, if not that any case for coercion, has arisen. But for her interference, based on purely selfish grounds, at the close of the late Russo-Turkish war, arrangements would have been entered into between Russia and Turkey, or, rather arrangements which had actually been entered into between Russia and Turkey, would have been accepted by the Powers, which would, in all probability, have prevented the recurrence of serious trouble in Armenia, and would have provided an effectual remedy for such trouble, had it occurred, in the shape of that very military occupation which Russia now refuses to undertake, or allow any one else to undertake. In his speech in the debate on the address in reply to the Queen's speech at the opening of the Session, Lord Salisbury did not

expressly state that, had Russia been willing to undertake the occupation, the other Powers would have allowed her to do so; but it is to be inferred from what he said that such was the case. The motives which, in that case, could have prevented Russia from acting may, as the London *Spectator* says, be "undiscernible." But a pretty fair guess may be made at their nature. Probably she sees in the situation an object-lesson for the Powers in general, and England in particular, which she feels they may be left to ponder a little longer, with advantage to herself, if not to the Armenians. That she would have acted, and that effectually, had the fruits of her late victory not been largely wrested from her, at the instigation of England, and had the occasion arisen, hardly admits of reasonable doubt. We do not for a moment suppose that pique alone has kept Russia from acting. No doubt, she had sound practical reasons, though they may not be clearly discernible, for considering that the moment was not convenient for action.

The Venezuelan question has happily quite lost the sensational interest with which President Cleveland's message to Congress suddenly invested it. The gravity of the position created by that nine days' wonder lay, not in the mere fact of his calling upon Congress to appoint a Commission to investigate and report upon the boundary. Any Government is at perfect liberty to appoint a Commission to investigate and report upon any question under the sun which it chooses to think concerns it. The gravity of the position lay in the menace to Great Britain by which the invitation was accompanied, and in the response which it elicited from Congress. "When such a Report is made and accepted," said the President, "it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of Governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right to belong to Venezuela."

It is clear that the claim thus set up finds no justification in the Monroe doctrine, either as originally propounded, or even as interpreted by President Cleveland himself. The principle asserted in that doctrine is inapplicable to territories which are the subject of a *bonâ fide* boundary dispute. For the doctrine refers to aggression of a particular kind, and the effect of a boundary dispute must be that, as long as it is undetermined, it becomes impossible for a third party to hold that such an aggression has been committed. Now, neither the Monroe doctrine, nor international law, nor natural reason, gives the United States any right to determine the true boun-

dary between the territories of third parties; and no decision to which a Commission, appointed by it without their consent, might come in respect of such a boundary, can be binding on the parties to a dispute regarding it. The fact of one of the parties continuing to occupy territory which such a Commission had determined to be outside its rightful boundary, could not, therefore, be properly treated by the Government of the United States as a violation of the Monroe doctrine, provided that the occupation of that territory would not otherwise have been a violation of it. To establish a case of such violation, wilful territorial aggression by one of the disputants must be proved; and, to make out a plausible case of such aggression, in the absence of a determined boundary, the facts must show, not merely that the alleged offending party has occupied territory claimed by the other, or territory which, in the view of a third party, there is good ground for believing to belong to the other, but that it has occupied territory so far in excess of what can reasonably be considered by any impartial person to belong to it as to create a violent presumption that it is not acting *bonâ fide*; that, in fact, the boundary dispute is a mere pretence to cover deliberate aggression.

As we have said, however, the matter has lost the sensational aspect with which the message momentarily invested it. The motive for the message was probably a belief on the part of Pesident Cleveland that it would retrieve the popularity of his party, which the result of the recent elections had shown to be seriously compromised. But it soon became apparent that it had had a contrary effect, and that, while it was acclaimed by the Jingo minority and by the inexorably anti-British section of the population, it had alarmed and revolted the great body of the American public, and was condemned by most moderate men.

In short, whatever else is doubtful, one fact emerges clearly from the discussion which the incident has aroused in the United States, and that is that the forces which make for the preservation of peace between the two countries preponderate immensely over those which make for war. This fact, in itself, affords sufficient guarantee that, whatever may be the nature of the Report of the Commission, it is highly unlikely that it will lead to any action on the part of the Government of the United States calculated to precipitate a conflict.

The Commission has commenced its sittings; but, in the meantime the Government of the United States have assured that of Her Majesty, that its report will not be regarded by them as binding upon any one, or as determining any thing; and, on the strength of this assurance, Lord Salisbury has undertaken to furnish the authorities at Washington with any

information in the possession of the British Government which may be likely to facilitate its enquiries.

The following despatches, which have passed between the two Governments on the subject, are alone sufficient to remove all ground for serious apprehension :—

Mr. Bayard to the Marquis of Salisbury.

Embassy of the United States, London, February 3, 1896.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform you that I am instructed by the Secretary of State of the United States to make known to your lordship that a Commission to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana has, under the authority of the Congress, been appointed by the President of the United States, which Commission is now in session at Washington, and has chosen Mr. Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, as its President.

Through its President, this Commission has suggested to the Secretary of State that, being distinctly and in no view an arbitral tribunal, but having its duty limited to a diligent and careful ascertainment of the facts touching the territory referred to and in dispute, for the information of the President, it would be grateful for such assistance to that end as could be obtained by the friendly co-operation and aid of the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela.

Wherefore I beg leave to make application to your lordship that, if entirely consistent with your sense of international propriety, the Commission may be furnished with such documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, or other evidence, as may be within the power of her Majesty's Government, as well as for any facilities which may conveniently be extended to assist the Commission in the purposes of its institution.

In communicating these wishes of the Commission to the Secretary of State, its President states :—

"It is scarcely necessary to say that if either Great Britain or Venezuela should deem it proper to designate an agent or attorney, whose duty it would be to see that no such proofs were omitted or overlooked, the Commission would be grateful for such evidence of good-will, and for the valuable results which would be likely to follow therefrom. Either party making a favourable response to the wish so expressed by the President of the Commission, would of course be considered only as *amicus curiæ*, and to throw light upon difficult and complex questions of fact."

The purposes of the investigation proposed by the Commission are certainly hostile to none, nor can it be of advantage to any that the effort to procure the desired information should fail of its purpose, the sole concern of the United States being the peaceful solution of a controversy between two friendly powers.

I am, &c., T. F. BAYARD.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Bayard.

Foreign Office, February 7, 1896.

Your Excellency,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's letter of the 3rd inst.

Any information which is at the command of her Majesty's Government upon any subject of inquiry that is occupying the attention of the Government of the United States, will be readily placed at the disposal of the President.

Her Majesty's Government are at present collecting the documents which refer to the boundary questions that have for some years been discussed between Great Britain and Venezuela, in order that they may be presented

to Parliament. As soon as the collection is complete, and ready for press, her Majesty's Government will have great pleasure in forwarding advance copies to your Excellency. I have, &c.,

SALISBURY.

Mr. Bayard to the Marquis of Salisbury.

Embassy of the United States, London, February 10, 1896.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's note, dated the 7th instant, and to thank you for the prompt and courteous response to the desire expressed by me, under instructions and on behalf of my Government, to receive documentary and other historical information in relation to the boundary questions so long under discussion between Great Britain and Venezuela.

I shall await with great interest the promised transmission of advanced copies of the completed collection of documents relating to the subject referred to, and, with assurances of the appreciation of my Government of the courtesy thus bestowed,

I have, &c., T. F. BAYARD.

In the meantime, the United States Government have strongly recommended the Republic of Venezuela to open direct negotiations with Great Britain on the independent subject of her demand for reparation for the late outrage on British officials on the border. It is further understood that they contemplate making, if they have not already made, fresh overtures for arbitration on the boundary question itself; and it seems not improbable that advantage may be taken of the Report of the Commission to limit the subject-matter of arbitration in a way which will remove the objection that has hitherto prevented Her Majesty's Ministers from accepting this method of solution.

The questions raised by the recent unfortunate events in the Transvaal are, up to a certain point, of almost provoking simplicity. A state of great tension had for some time past existed between the wealthy community of foreign settlers —chiefly British subjects—in the Rand country, and the Boer Government, arising out of the reasonable demand of the former for civil rights which the Boer Government persistently refused to concede. This state of tension had latterly become greatly aggravated; meetings had been held by the Uitlanders, at which threats of armed resistance to Boer authority had been uttered, and preparations for such resistance, or what might be construed into such preparations, had been more or less openly made. Certain steps taken by the Boers, ostensibly for the purpose of preserving the peace, seem, in the end, to have added fuel to the flame, and a letter was despatched by some of the leaders of the agitation to Dr. Jameson, who was known be in the neighbourhood of the border with a force of the Chartered Company's police, representing that the lives of the Uitlanders and their wives and children were in danger, and imploring him to come to their assistance and prevent

bloodshed that was otherwise inevitable. Thus appealed to, Dr. Jameson invaded the Transvaal and marched for Johannesburg, with results which are fresh in the minds of the public and need not be detailed here.

As to to the unjustifiable character of Dr. Jameson's action, there can be no difference of opinion, and it was at once disavowed by the Government, which had done all in their power to prevent it, and has been condemned on all hands. In the matter in dispute between the Uitlanders and the Boer Government he had, plainly, no *locus standi*; while, as to the statement contained in the letter received by him, that the lives of the Uitlanders were in imminent danger, it was wholly unsupported by evidence. On the other hand, two very grave questions—grave, that is to say, in their bearing on the problem of the moral blame to be attached to him and those who instigated him—are suggested by what is known of the history of these events. Did the authors of the letter to Dr. Jameson sincerely believe in the truth of the statement that their lives were in danger, or was that statement a device to induce him to invade the Transvaal, and so assist them in overawing or subverting the Boer Government? And did Dr. Jameson himself really believe that it was a true statement of the facts of the situation?

As to the indignation aroused in England by the German Emperor's message to President Kruger, congratulating him on having repelled the invasion without external assistance, it seems to have been based, to a great extent, on misapprehension, arising out of the belief that President Kruger had appealed to Germany for assistance, and that it was meant as a warning to Great Britain, not only that he would have assisted the Boers to repel the invasion, had it been necessary, but that, in certain eventualities, he was prepared to interfere between the Boers and the British Government. This belief was confirmed by the news that certain steps had been taken by the German Government with a view to the landing of a small force of marines from one of its war-ships at Delagoa Bay. Official documents since published, however, make it clear that, whatever may have been in the mind of the German Emperor when he indited his message, his Government had not only done nothing to justify, but had taken special pains to guard against, such an interpretation of its actions.

The belief that President Kruger had appealed to Germany for aid, though it appears to have been shared by Her Majesty's Ministers, also turns out to have been erroneous.

In the meantime, it is not altogether to be regretted that the misapprehension arose, since it furnished the occasion for a demonstration which will convince the world, Germany

included, that the British nation is determined to allow of no foreign interference between itself and its suzerain, or with any other of its prerogatives.

The Boers treated their prisoners with praiseworthy moderation, and President Kruger showed a certain measure of magnanimity in making over Dr. Jameson and his followers to the British Government for deportation, and, in the case of the officers, for trial, when he might have been tempted to hold them as hostages in the hope of securing better terms in the negotiations that were certain to follow regarding the status of the Uitlanders, or even a modification of the terms of the Convention.

Negotiations were, in fact, immediately opened in connection with the former question, and it is still by no means certain that an amicable arrangement will be arrived at; but, as far as is known, the question of the Convention has not been raised.

The plan recommended by Mr. Chamberlain for the satisfaction of the Uitlanders is a modified local autonomy, with powers of legislation on local questions, subject to the veto of the President and Executive Council at Pretoria, and of assessing and levying their own taxation, subject to the payment of an annual tribute to the Transvaal Government; but he is careful to disavow all right to do more than advise regarding the internal affairs of the Republic. It is doubtful, however, whether this is what the Uitlanders want, and, still more so, whether it is likely to be conceded by the Boers.

Mr. Chamberlain has been loudly praised for the skilful way in which he has dealt with the situation. It is indisputable, however, that, by the premature publication of the proposals made by him to the Boer Government, he has been guilty of a breach of diplomatic usage and a grave indiscretion, which has exposed him to merited rebuke at the hands of President Kruger and not improbably marred the success of the negotiations.

The agreement with France with regard to Siam concedes to her the whole of the disputed territory on the further side of the Mekong, including the district of Mongsin, and recognises the "thalweg" of that river as the Anglo-French frontier from the mouth of the Nam Huok to the borders of China. The contracting parties also agree that neither of them will invade, or permit any third Power to invade, a tract of territory comprising roughly the valley of the Menam, and the country to the north of that river, lying between the Anglo-Siamese frontier, the Mekong and the eastern watershed of the Me-ing. The agreement further declares that all commercial and other privileges and advantages in the Chinese provinces of Yunan and Sze-Chuen, which were conceded to either country by the conventions concluded by them with China in 1894 and

1895 respectively, or which may hereafter be conceded to either of them, shall, so far as rests with them, be extended to both. It also deals with the question of the delimitation of British and French possessions to the west of the Lower Niger, for the settlement of which the two Powers undertake to appoint Commissioners, and provides for the immediate commencement of negotiations between the two countries for the substitution of a new Convention for that of 1875, by which our relations with Tunis are at present regulated. By the provisions regarding the boundary between the French and British-Burmese possessions, Great Britain surrenders a barren right in the interests of mutual convenience. As to the undertaking regarding the valley of Menam, it is difficult to find any adequate motive, still less any justification, for what, however explained, is practically a declaration of mutual indifference on the part of the contracting parties to any aggression that either of them may make on the remaining territories of Siam.

Parliament was re-opened on the 11th February. In the Queen's speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, Her Majesty, after referring to her relations with Foreign Powers in the usual terms, to the conclusion of the agreement with France, and to the acceptance by herself and the Emperor of Russia of the boundary laid down by the Commissioners between Russia and Afghanistan, goes on to say :—

"The Government of the United States have expressed a wish to co operate in terminating differences, which have existed for many years between my Government and the Republic of Venezuela upon the boundary between that country and my colony of British Guiana. I have expressed my sympathy with the desire to come to an equitable arrangement, and trust that further negotiation will lead to a satisfactory settlement.

"The Sultan of Turkey has sanctioned the principal reforms in the government of the Armenian provinces, for which, in conjunction with the Emperor of Russia and the President of the French Republic, I have felt it my duty to press I deeply regret that a fanatical outbreak on the part of a section of the Turkish population has resulted in a series of massacres in those provinces, which have caused the deepest indignation in this country. Papers on these transactions will be laid before you.

"A sudden incursion into the South African Republic by an armed force from territories under the control of the British South Africa Company, resulted in a deplorable collision with the Burgher forces.

"My Ministers, at the earliest possible moment, intervened to prohibit, through the High Commissioner, this hostile action, and to warn all my subjects throughout South Africa against taking part in aid thereof.

"The origin and circumstance of these proceedings will form the subject of a searching inquiry.

"The President of the Republic, acting in this matter with moderation and wisdom, agreed to place the prisoners in the hands of my High

Commissioner, and I have undertaken to bring to trial the leaders of the expedition.

"The conduct of the President on the occasion, and the assurances which he has voluntarily given, lead me to believe that he recognizes the importance of redressing the legitimate grievances, of which complaint has been made by a majority of the persons now inhabiting the Transvaal.

After dealing, at somewhat disproportionate length with the Ashanti expedition, and announcing the success of the measures taken last year for the control of Chitral and the maintenance and protection of the road thither from Peshawur, the speech concludes :—

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have directed the Estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you. They have been prepared with the utmost regard to economy ; but the exigencies of the time require an increased expenditure.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The extension and improvement of the Naval Defences of the Empire is the most important subject to which your efforts can be directed, and will doubtless occupy your most earnest attention.

"I regret to say that the condition of agriculture is disastrous beyond any recent experience. Measures will be laid before you, of which the object will be to mitigate the distress under which the classes labour, who are engaged in that industry.

"Elementary schools under voluntary management are a valuable portion of our educational system, and their condition, which is in many places precarious, requires further assistance from public resources

"The compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their ordinary employment, has been under the consideration of Parliament upon several occasions. A measure dealing with the subject will be laid before you.

"Legislation will be submitted to you for the amendment of the defects which experience has shown to exist in the provisions of the various Land Acts, which have been passed in respect to Ireland.

"A measure for amending and consolidating the Law relating to public health in Scotland will be laid before you.

"Measures have also been prepared for the avoidance and settlement of trade disputes, for facilitating the construction of light railways in the United Kingdom, for the regulation of public companies, for checking the importation of destitute aliens, for amending the law with respect to the supply of water to the metropolis, for the institution of a Board of Agriculture in Ireland, and for amending the Law of Evidence."

The address in reply was voted, with less delay than usual, after amendments in favour of Irish Self-government, of an investigation into the financial and political action of the South African Chartered Company, of a reconsideration of the cases of the Irish prisoners condemned under the Treason-Felony Act, and of arbitration in the matter of the Venezuela boundary dispute, and others condemning the Government policy in Chitral, regretting the absence from the speech of any reference to the grievances of the fishing population of the Highlands and

Islands of Scotland, and expressing disappointment at the refusal of the Government to grant the demands made on behalf of denominational schools in Ireland, had been either rejected by large majorities or withdrawn.

The general tendency of recent events, and more especially of the failure of British diplomacy in the Armenian question, has been to produce a widespread conviction that the country is less strong than is consistent with security, accompanied by a growing mistrust of Germany, and a disposition to draw closer to France and Russia.

Mr. Goschen's Naval programme includes large additions to the fleet and defences, together with the construction of extensive new docks at Gibraltar.

Among notable events of the Quarter has been the arrival of a provokingly meagre telegraphic despatch from Kirensk, announcing that Dr. Nansen is on his way home, after having reached the North Pole and found land there. The news, which originates with a Siberian trader who has a station at Ust Yansk, opposite the New Siberian Islands, is strongly opposed to probability, inasmuch as a current which would have carried Nansen to the Pole in the way anticipated by him, could not have brought him back to the Siberian coast. But it is possible that he may have abandoned his ship, and made his way back with the aid of sledges and boats, as Weyprecht did in 1874.

In India, the most important event of the Quarter has been the readjustment of the Cotton Duties, carried out by the Government of India under the instructions of the Secretary of State, for the ostensible purpose of redeeming the pledge given by the late Government that the duties should be free from all element of protection.

The effect of the Bills which were introduced for this purpose by Sir James Westland on the 23rd of January, and passed on the 3rd of February, is to substitute an excise duty of 3½ per cent. on all woven cotton goods manufactured in India, and a corresponding duty on all woven cotton goods imported into India, for the excise duty of 5 per cent. previously levied on cotton yarns of counts over 20*s.* manufactured in India and the duty of 5 per cent. levied on cotton yarns and woven goods of all descriptions imported into India, and at the same time to exempt from import duty certain articles used in the local manufacture of cotton goods. The chief objections to the scheme are that it subjects the consumers of the coarser qualities of cotton goods manufactured in India by machinery to taxation, from which they were previously exempt; that, by imposing on machine-woven goods a duty from which yarns are exempt, it operates as a bounty on the

handloom weaver to the extent of the duty imposed, and that, mainly for the sake of conciliating the British cotton manufacturer, it remits some fifty lakhs of taxation which the revenue can ill spare. There is also good ground for complaining that the scheme was sprung upon the country without due warning, and forced through the Legislature, while an enquiry which had been undertaken by the Government of India into the whole question of the effect of the cotton duties, at the instance of the Secretary of State, and the result of which the Secretary of State was pledged to await before deciding on future legislation, was still incomplete. The new Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal created a very favourable opinion of his independence and courage by the outspoken way in which, from his place in the Council, he urged the chief of these objections. Though, he said, he thought Sir James Westland had, to a large extent, met the objection that the measure transferred taxation from the rich to the poor, he had not dealt with what, to his mind, was one of the principal objections to the measure, namely, the favouritism shown to one branch of their tariff while there were other branches which had an equal right to be admitted to those privileges. As a free trader, he would like to see the day when free trade was proclaimed... It appeared to him that it was possible to devise some scheme which would have done away with protection, without retaining all the difficulties which still appeared to him to cling around this measure. He entirely agreed with what Sir Griffith Evans had said, that the Government in this matter had tried honestly to do their duty; but he regretted that the General Committee, with all the advantages they had before them, had not devised a better scheme than that contained in the Bill. With regard to the handloom trade, opinion differed very considerably. He agreed with those who held that protection would have a serious effect both on export and import goods. As regards the description given by Sir James Westland of weavers generally, he would say that in hundreds of villages he had seen the weavers kept from utter extinction by the local Marwaree, who made small advances to them, which advances he increased when it suited his ends. After citing figures from certain districts regarding the produce from handlooms, his Honor went on to say that he thought the salvation of India lay in the development of mechanical industries. He did not feel satisfied that they ought to remit taxation at the present moment, but the financial situation was in Sir James Westland's hands. Besides, there were a number of subjects to which this surplus might will be bestowed.

Both the scheme and the way in which it has been carried have caused widespread indignation among the native com-

munity, especially in the Bombay Presidency, where a movement has been set on foot, and has made some progress, for the purpose of boycotting cotton goods of British manufacture. Whatever the immediate fate of this agitation may be, we have no doubt that the effect of legislation of the kind just undertaken will be to accelerate rather than to retard the approach of the time, which under no circumstances is very remote, when the consumption by the natives of India of cotton goods manufactured elsewhere than in their own country will be a comparatively rare occurrence.

The Report of the Select Committee on the Indian Volunteers Act Amendment Bill, which, among other things, enables the Government of India to employ the Volunteers on actual Military Service in case of exigency and to provide for their payment when so employed; extends the area within which they are liable to be called upon to serve, from a radius of four miles from the place of enrolment, to the district or districts within which the corps is enrolled, and makes them liable to the penalty of death for certain shameful offences committed in the presence of an enemy; the further Report of the Select Committee on the Indian Merchant Shipping Bill and the Report of the Select Committee on the Legal Practitioners Act Amendment Bill, have been presented to the Council. The Committee have completely recast the last-named Bill, the measure as it has left their hands proposing to withdraw the offence of legal touting, or abetment thereof, from the purview of the Criminal Law, to enable the Courts to deal with the offence of taking business from touts by suspension, or dismissal of the offending practitioners, and to make and publish lists of habitual touts and exclude them from the Courts.

It is understood that the Select Committee on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill have determined to recommend the abandonment of the provisions to enable Judges to require special verdicts.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who, by his conciliatory attitude, has made a highly favourable impression on the native community, has been largely occupied, since he assumed charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship, in rubbing the corners off his predecessor's vigorous, but somewhat angular, policy. Among instances of his efforts in this direction, is a radical modification of the hard and fast rules laid down by Sir Charles Elliott, in his famous Minute on the subject, for the touring arrangements of Divisional and District Officers, a matter in which they have now been invested with such measure of discretion as may reasonably be granted to a body of averagely rational and conscientious men.

The remarks made by Sir Alexander in the course of the

speech in which he explained the not very formidable legislative programme for the year, at the meeting of the Bengal Council on the 29th ultimo, were of a kind to confirm the impression that has gone abroad, that he is averse to unnecessarily disturbing or hurried legislation.

He had hoped, he said, to find as few projects of legislation as possible to lay before the Council. Referring to certain Bills which were necessary to amend clerical errors in recent Acts of the Council, he remarked that he thought the Council had been rather hurried in their final disposal of the Bills, and reminded them that, in future, it was not intended that they should hurry. Referring, again, to a somewhat important Bill which is contemplated, to amend Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act, with the view of facilitating the carrying out of Settlement work on a large scale with a minimum of delay, trouble and expense, he said that, in view of the danger of starting fresh rent agitation in Bengal by touching large measures of this kind, he was anxious to confine it within as reasonable limits as possible. Finally, he concluded his speech with an assurance of his determination "to give the utmost consideration to the views that might be urged by members, and to take care that nothing which required calm deliberation should be rushed in any way."

These words have been very generally construed as conveying a reflection on the legislative policy of recent years. Whether this was intended, or not, it can hardly be disputed that they are opportune, or be doubted that they will have a salutary and reassuring effect.

The answers given by the Secretaries to a number of interpellations with which the Government had to deal at the same meeting, were equally reassuring, and furnished, in more instances than one, a guarantee that the new Lieutenant-Governor is strongly opposed to any avoidable interference on the part of the Executive with the discretion of Judicial officers.

The measures adopted for the administration of Chitral and the maintenance and protection of the road thither from Peshawur, appear to have been attended with marked success, and to command the willing acquiescence of the tribes along the route. The relations of the Government of India with the Ameer of Kabul continue on a satisfactory footing, though his military operations against the people of Kafiristan, a region which was recognised by the Durand Agreement as falling within his sphere of influence, and which he has now brought under his control, are strongly resented by certain sections of the public at home, and efforts have been ineffectually made to induce the Government to interfere.

The abnormal dryness of the winter months, following upon

the premature cessation of last year's rains, together with the excessive temperature of the month of February, presage a comparative failure of the spring crops over the greater part of Upper India, and a serious deficiency in the production of opium in both Agencies. A marked improvement has, however, taken place in Exchange since the beginning of the year, and, as the demands of the Secretary of State for the current financial year have already been fully met, and those for the coming year are on a somewhat reduced scale, it seems likely that rates will be sustained.

Lord Wenlock is on the eve of making over charge of the Governorship of Madras to Sir Arthur Havelock, who has been appointed to succeed him. Mr. U. N. Chalmers has been appointed to succeed Sir Alexander Miller as Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council; Mr. Lawrence Jenkins to succeed Mr. Justice Pigot on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and Mr. A. C. Trevor, B. C. S., to succeed Sir Charles Pritchard as Public Works Member of the Viceroy's Council.

A successor to the Poet Laureateship has at last been appointed in the person of Mr. Alfred Austin, a selection which, if the Laureateship is to be viewed with reference mainly to the Court functions supposed to attach to it, is a sufficiently worthy one, but is an absurdly unworthy one if it is to be regarded as the reward of poetic excellence.

In the department of science note may be taken of the discovery, by Professor Roentgen, of a hitherto undetected form of radiation, which is emitted by the residual contents of a vacuum tube when excited by a rapidly alternating current of high-tension electricity; which apparently is not refrangible; is invisible to the human eye; passes more or less freely through various substances that are opaque to the visible light rays, and is capable of producing actinic effects on a sensitive plate. By the aid of these rays, it has, consequently, been found possible to obtain a photographic representation, in *chiaro-scuro*, of any substance that is comparatively opaque to them, through any other substance which, though opaque to ordinary light, is comparatively transparent to them. As flesh, in common with most organic bodies, is comparatively transparent, and bone and most metals are comparatively or wholly opaque, to these rays, it is possible to obtain a photographic image of the bony structure of, for example, the hand, or of a bullet or other metallic body imbedded in it, through the surrounding tissues.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of Prince Henry of Battenberg; Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., one of the most distinguished of the

Civilians appointed under the system of competitive examination; and late Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab; General James. Thomas Walker, R. E., C.B., F. R. S., LL.D., lately Surveyor-General of India, and for many years Superintendent of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey; Mr. W. J. B. Clerke, C. I. E., the distinguished engineer, who constructed the Tansa Reservoir; General Sir Charles P. Keyes, G. C. B; Dr. Reinhold Rost, the well-known orientalist, for many years Librarian of the India Office; Mr. Henry W. Leslie, the musical composer; M. Ambroise Thomas, the well-known French musical composer; Mr. Peter Bayne; the Rev. William Rogers; M. Floquet; Lord Blackburn; M. Paul Verlaine, the poet; Mrs. Sterling, the celebrated actress; M. Sergius Stepniak; Mr. John Russell Hind, LL.D., F. R. S., the astronomer; Mr. Antonio Gallenga; Mr. George Augustus Sala; Colonel Patrick Roddy, V. C., the Rev. Richard St John Tyrhwitt, a writer on art and water-colour painter of repute; Sir. J. Barnby, musical composer; Lord (better known as Sir Frederick) Leighton, Royal Academician; Mr. Hugh C. E. Childers; Mr. Alexander Macmillan, the publisher, and General Richard C. Lawrence, C. B.

J. W. F.

March, 10, 1896.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Sir John Mandeville.

IN Chaucer's "Prologue to the Canterbury Pilgrims," we have the portrait of a knight who had ridden "as well in Christendom as in heathenesse"; had been in Prussia, in Lithuania, in Russia, "and in the great Sea":—

> "Sometime with the Lord of Palatie
> Against another heathen in Turkie,
> And ever more he had a sovereign prise,
> And though that he was worthy he was wise."

Such was the ideal of a retired officer in the 14th century, when the English character was already formed: and that ideal inspired a book which was long considered the earliest extant specimen of English prose literature. The "Voyage and Travel of Sir John Mandeville, Knight" was edited in 1839 by the late J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, who represented the author as "the father of English prose," and the estimate was accepted by the Brothers Chambers, in whose excellent *Cyclopedia* the book is cited as "the first English book."

Late in 1895, a new edition appeared; with the spelling modernised, and with a preface by Mr. Cameron Grant, to which was attached a somewhat scornful footnote.* From this we learn that, but a few hours before the writer sent his preface to the press, a paragraph had appeared, throwing doubt on the existence of the travelling knight. Nevertheless, as is well remarked by Mr. Grant, "take Sir John with an open mind and in the spirit of his age, and you will find his, one of the most entertaining and delightful of books." That is to say, he should be taken as a Trouvêre, or wandering tale-teller; but not as a knight like Chaucer's, watchful of his tongue, sparing of speech, "a very gentle perfect knight," a sort of medieval Colonel Newcome. The writer of the *Travels*, whoever he may have been, and whensoever they may have been written, aimed less at conveying instruction by telling of facts that he had seen and verified, than at wiling away a winter evening in some remote castle by relating marvels which he only half believed, as he told them to an audience not wholly credulous.

The texture of the relation, however, is intended to wear—as indeed it has since worn—a serious character. Hints of

* The Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Mandeville, Kt. Chamber's Cyclopædia of English Literature; 4th edition (Vol. I, p. 27). London and Edinburgh, 1893. Westminster, A. Constable & Co., 1895.

caution—in the very manner of Herodotus—appeal to our confidence by professions of unwillingness to vouch for anything not personally witnessed: but then the things witnessed are almost more frankly false than those for the improbability of which the author apologises. The art of some of these passages almost equals that of similar things in Swift or Defoe. Between India and Bokhara there was, it would seem, a Kingdom called "Culdillhe," where grew a sort of gourd, in cutting which a small animal was found, resembling a miniature lamb, *without wool*. "Of that fruit I have eaten," testifies the author, "wonderful as it may seem; but I know well" (he adds in a pious parenthesis) "that God is marvellous in His works. And, nevertheless, I told them of as great a marvel . . . and that was of the Barnacle geese. For I told them that in our country were trees that bear a fruit that becomes birds flying . . . and they be right good for men's meat. And thereof had they so great marvel that *some of them trowed it were an impossible thing*." Very unreasonable of the unbelievers!

Another most cunning combination is the element of truth that is inextricably interwoven with the narration of foreign creeds and customs. Thus the Koran is properly named and described, and the tenets and practices of Islam are set forth, not only with substantial accuracy, but with tolerant candour. The writer even reports a conversation, which he says he had with the Sultan of Egypt, who, according to the report, spoke French and showed a considerable, though unfavourable, acquaintance with Christian manners and morals.

Anything like a careful analysis of the book will show that this Egyptian section has a far greater air of authenticity than many of the other parts. Indeed, one might almost say that well-nigh half the book was an itinerary for the use of pilgrims to Palestine with excursions to neighbouring places, while the rest had been arbitrarily added to make the book bigger, and to increase its interest as well as its bulk. This idea of adding *Erewhon*, or *The Coming Race*, to one of Murray's *Hand-books* would not shock the readers of that time, as we must suppose; for the book became famous, and the so-called knight of St. Albans, after appearing, in a variety of manuscript editions, in the early part of the fifteenth century, was adopted as the author by Wynkyn de Worde, who printed the book at his Fleet-Street Press, in 1499, as a genuine work of travel.

The account which "Sir John" gives of himself is as circumstantial as any that we find given by Swift, Horace Walpole, or the author of Waverley. He calls himself "John Mandeville, Knight, that was born in England, in the town of St. Albans, in the year of our Lord Jesu Christ, 1322, on the day of St. Michael," in the Prologue; and in the Epilogue,

again, he adds :—" I am now come home to rest . . . and recording the time past have put these things written in this book, as they would come into my mind, A. D. 1356."

Yet all this detail is evidently as unfounded as the story that the author professes to have told about the Barnacles to the heathen of Candillhe (Qy: Kandahar).

The book has been compared with accounts of travels by earlier writers, and found to be copied—sometimes with literal accuracy, sometimes with obvious blunders—from Friar Odoric's journals, written in 1330, and from those of a German pilgrim named Boldensele, dated 1336. The borrowed portions are often misread and garbled, and made to look like the writer's own experiences, after the method ascribed by Sheridan to the Gipsies. Nor is there any certainty about the date at which the original work, probably produced in Latin, was finally composed. The earliest MS. is dated 1371 ; and a curious piece of evidence exists in connection with that date.

The geographer, Ortelius, wrote a guide-book to Belgium in collaboration with a friend, which was dedicated to the celebrated Mercator, and printed by Plantin of Antwerp in 1584. At p. 16 of this book, we are told that there was at Liege a monastery of Guilelmites, where the author found a tombstone professing to bear the epitaph of Mandeville. But, although the stone is not now forthcoming, Ortelius does not make good its claims ; it bore a French inscription in which *no name occurred ;* the armorial blazon was not that of the English Mandevilles ; and the much later Latin epitaph given by Ortelius, though it named the English knight, apparently confused him with a local physician called Jean de Bourgogne, who is known to have died at Liege in 1371, the date of the oldest MS.

The earliest English version is said to be dated in 1420 ; and the language of De Worde's edition of 1499 is certainly later than that of Chaucer and Wycliffe.

The conclusion from these facts has been already anticipated, years ago, in an article on the subject in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed 1883), signed E. B. N and H. Y. These initials apparently represent Mr. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, and the late Sir Henry Yule, the learned and able editor of Marco Polo : and from their decision it would be hard to appeal.

The book is evidently a farrago compiled by a Belgian doctor, who had visited Egypt and Palestine, in a more or less scientific spirit. After his return he made up his mind to bring out an " entertaining and delightful book, " as Mr. Grant says, and to give it greater weight and currency by representing it as the work of an English knight of the kind described by Chaucer.

Some English monk or scholar, coming across the work in a French version, conceived the idea of turning it into English about the time of the Treaty of Troyes, when English knights were at a premium; but, not being well informed, or a good French scholar, left patches and mistakes by which he is still to be betrayed. Some of these, indeed, are given by Mr. Grant, but without advertence to the consequence, for the position taken by him, and the other critics above-mentioned, is that the author himself made the English version, in order, as the English Prologue says, "that every man of my nation may understand it." But, if that were so, these blunders would be unaccountable. An Englishman writing in French and subsequently translating his own book into his own language, would not make the mistakes referred to.

Nevertheless, when all is said, the old book, taken as an English version of a romance written before the Renaissance, is curious and interesting, although the writer be not "Sir John Mandeville," nor the father of English prose.

Why Gordon perished? or the Political and Military Causes which led to the Sudan disasters, by a War Correspondent who accompanied the Nile expedition (with maps and plans). W. H. Allen and Co., London.

THE present work is a kind of supplement to the Author's *'Too late for Gordon at Khartum,'* and contains information which he did not care to publish at the time. He shows that there is no reason to suppose that Khartum fell in consequence of treachery; but that relief was delayed so long that the garrison became exhausted by privations, and were unable to resist a sudden assault of Arabs through a breach caused by the river Nile. The fact of delay having been established, the book is mainly an inquiry into the question whether it was unavoidable. We are of opinion that the delay was not unavoidable; and the writer has investigated the matter in a spirit almost judicial in its calmness and fairness.

Referring to the vote of the House of Commons in favour of the Government, when the question of the failure of the Sudan expedition was under discussion, the Author points out that there was information in the possession of the Ministry which was withheld from the public.

> "We now, therefore," he says "propose to answer it (the question) or, rather to re-try the case with additional evidence, and by a jury independent of Party prejudice and jealousy, and zealous, not only for the sake of British honour, but also in order to secure such an administration of our affairs, as will ensure their being carried on in future in such a manner, as will prevent the recurrence of such disasters."

The practical question, however, debated in the book is that of the best route, under the circumstances, for the relief of Khartum.

Premising that British troops alone should be employed, as "it was doubtful whether even the best of our Indian regiments could stand a charge of Arabs," and as they were encumbered with camp-followers, Lord Wolseley referred to three lines of advance, having, as their respective bases, Massowah and Suakim on the Red Sea, and Wady-Halfa on the Nile.

> "Wady-Halfa he mentions as a base because, for a relieving force following the Valley of the Nile, it could be easily reached with men and stores during low water on that river.
>
> "The two last named routes, his Lordship pointed out, pass directly through Berber, and the first very near it as it strikes the Nile at its junction with the Atbara. Taking Berber as a central converging point of these routes he gives their relative distances from their bases as follows :—

	Miles.
No. 1, Massowah to junction of Atbara with the Nile ...	603
No. 2, Suakim to Berber	240
No. 3, Wady-Halfa to Berber	666

> "As the selection of the route for a relieving expedition chosen by Her Majesty's Government was, in its consequences, one of the causes which so largely contributed to its lateness in accomplishing its object, we have given Lord Wolseley's description of its difficulties and advantages, in which he stated to Lord Hartington that, owing to its vast saving in expense by the water-facility for transport, as compared with that over land, he had no hesitation whatever in saying that the river route from Wady Halfa to Khartum was infinitely preferable to any other."

The admittedly very serious difficulty presented by the cataracts (140) Lord Wolseley proposed to overcome by means of boats, beyond the point to which the railway should be extended, *when the river was full*. Otherwise the boats could be portaged as was done in 1870. Granting the possibility of all this being accomplished, the question still remained, whether, considering the distance, 1,610 miles from Cairo to Khartum, it could be effected *in time* to save Gordon. This was the vital question for decision, and General Sir F. Stephenson, who was in command of the British force in Egypt, reported that, at the usual rate of progress, steamers, &c., could not reach Assouan in less than 14 days, their stores requiring to be carried past the first cataract, which occurs there, to Philæ, and shipped again. The march route along the river would take 100 days, with a camel for each man. In view of the insufficiency of provender and other difficulties, General Stephenson regarded the Nile route as "quite unsuited for such an advance." He then proposed the Suakim-Berber route, as to which a number of reports were received from able and experienced officers. But the Nile route was in keeping with the policy of the

Government not to advance beyond the boundary of Egypt, and to avoid, at all hazards, war with the tribes in the Sudan; and the Government was not willing to be convinced of a better way.

While the question of these routes was being discussed, with all the circumlocution indispensable in Government offices, Berber, the terminus of all these routes, fell, and could no longer be regarded as a basis of operations. It then became necessary, in case any British force approached Khartum by the Metammeh route, that it should not allow Berber to be behind it. But the attempt to re-take Berber would, of course, cause further delay. Still, as late as the 29th October, Gordon thought that, although the season was far advanced and the Nile on the fall (conditions which rendered the river route impracticable), the road from Debbeh was not a bad one. But the route from Ambukol to Metammeh would, he thought, be better, and when Metammeh was reached, one detachment could be sent to capture Berber and another to Khartum. This route was ultimately availed of by General Stuart; but he reached Metammeh on the 19th January 1885, and Khartum fell on the 26th. And, although the column had obtained two victories over the Arabs, one at Abu-Klea and another at Abu-Kru, victories which made the Mahdi consider whether he should not raise the siege of Khartum, the famine-stricken garrison were too far gone in feebleness and exhaustion to repair breaches caused by the Nile in their fortifications, or to resist an on-slaught of Arabs ten times their number.

The interest of the book is much enhanced by the extracts it contains from Gordon's journal, and by his letters, especially that of the 4th November 1884, which ought to have decided the Government to act at once for his immediate relief. All through the journal appears the indomitable resolution of Gordon not to abandon his post or seek his own safety by the sacrifice of the people who looked to him for protection.

The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, being the Bengal Public Consultations for the first half of the Eighteenth Century, summarised, extracted and edited, with introductions and illustrative addenda, by C. R. Wilson, M. A., of the Bengal Education Service. London: W. Thacker & Co., 87 Newgate Street; Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1895.

THE "Consultations" embrace the years 1704 to 1710; but the introduction, occupying the first 216 pages, deals with the early history of the English in Bengal from their first advent in Orissa to their settlement in Calcutta and the building of Fort William; the object of the Editor being to fill up the

gap to the year 1748, at which date Long's selections begin. In the introduction the author gives information, quaint, curious and interesting, derived from various sources: and the explanatory maps and plans are a great help. The result is an account of English life and progress in the East, more vivid and realistic than anything, perhaps, that has yet appeared relating to those times.

The English came to Bengal for purely commercial purposes, but they were forced to resort to force to protect themselves against opposition and oppression. After much wandering over the Bay of Bengal, they found in Calcutta the place for their fortified trade centre. This the author shows to have been Sutanuti. Mr. Wilson regards Job Charnock and him alone as the founder of Calcutta. He founded it on the 24th August 1890. The charges of the indolence, timidity and selfishness brought against him, and too readily credited, cannot be met better than by reproducing the following remarks from the work before us:—

> He was no doubt sometimes disposed to take life easily and to side with his friends in their private quarrels, but not more so than his contemporaries. On the contrary, at the crisis of his life, when Hedges was dismissed from the agency, we see Charnock taking the right side, and preferring vigorous action and self-sacrifice. When others wished to temporise and thought of their selfish interests, he was for breaking with the native powers, and thus deliberately gave his adhesion to the policy of the man who was his private enemy. But, it is said, he was pusillanimous in the war which followed. On this point let the actual story of the struggle decide. The man who, without waiting for all his forces to assemble, attacked the Mogul troops at Hugli, seized Sūtānuṭī, held out in the face of tremendous odds at Hijili, and in the end succeeded in outwitting his opponents, would seem to deserve blame rather for rashness than for cowardice. But he did not seize Chittagong. Charnock was not a military genius; and even if he had been, it is doubted whether Chittagong could have been taken with the forces at his disposal. In fact, Charnock had the wisdom to see that a settlement on the banks of the Hugli would be more suitable to the requirements of the English trade. Accordingly, after trying Hijili, and finding it too unhealthy, he fixed upon Sūtānuṭī as the best place available. In what way he would have used the forces which reached Bengal in 1688 for the purposes of fortifying and securing his position, we cannot tell. He was superseded by Captain Heath, and the opportunity never returned. The building of Fort William was reserved for other hands. But the fact remains that Charnock, and Charnock alone, founded Calcutta. Many of his contemporaries failed to see the need of such a measure; others saw it, but the Court would not trust them, or give them the necessary means. In Charnock the Court reposed an almost unwavering confidence. He wished to make a fortified settlement at Sūtānuṭī, and in the end the settlement was made. In short, Charnock possessed the one rare but absolutely needful virtue of disinterested honesty,—a virtue which must have been at this time difficult to retain; a virtue which must have raised up against him scores of secret enemies; a virtue which makes us slow to believe evil of one who, in spite of all petty detrac-

tion, will always occupy a place amongst those who have the sovereign honour of being founders of states and commonwealths. Coarse and wilful he may well have been, for he seems to have been imperfectly educated; and he passed an unprecedented length of years in Indian service. But for my part I prefer to forget the minor blemishes, and to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, his honest self-devotion, and so leave him to sleep on in the heart of the city which he founded, looking for a blessed resurrection and the coming of Him by Whom alone he ought to be judged.

The passage given below from Hamiltons's *East Indies*, gives a picture of the beauty and fashion of Calcutta in those early days:—

"Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the forenoons being dedicated to business, and after dinner to rest, and in the evening to recreate themselves in chaises or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in the budgerows, which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river sometimes there is the diversion of fishing and fowling, or both; and before night they make friendly visits to one another, when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies as discord and faction do among the men."*

As regards the morals of the time, it is clear from the record that honest criticism and severe censure were not lacking from the constituted *Custodes morum*. Witness the denunciations of the chaplain, Mr. Benjamin Adams in 1699 or 1700. But the following seems a fair, candid and sober estimate of the state of the case:—

I think it would be most unfair to construe Adam's words into an indictment against the whole of the English colony in Calcutta. That offences against good morals were then far more common and far more serious than they are now, we cannot doubt. We do not expect to find purity in the lower waters of a stream which is tainted at its source, and the beginning of the eighteenth century was the nadir of our morality. We do not expect the wall to stand firm when its buttresses have been removed, and Calcutta was then so far away from London that all the common moral restraints and supports were to a great extent inoperative. We know that many of the exiles in that distant land formed unions, sometimes lawful, sometimes unlawful, with Portuguese and Indian women. We know that many of them were largely denationalized. The records make mention far too frequently of their quarrels and their punch-houses. They testify painfully to the prevalence of slavery. But for all that, there is no reason to believe that the majority of the Anglo-Indians of that time were not, as they always have been, sober, earnest, generous and faithful. The charges made by Adams, are sweeping enough, but only two definite cases are quoted, of which one occurred not at Calcutta but at Surat, which was supposed to be the godliest of the Company's factories. Against the solitary instance of Dr. Warren's misconduct, we can set the lives of men like Beard, Hedges, and Adams himself, whose excellence we know from the letters and documents which remain; and we need not doubt that, could we read the recorded lives of all who lived at this period, the numbers of those who fell far short of the recognized standard of right conduct would be comparatively few.

* Hamilton's *East Indies*, II, 12.

Mr. Wilson has given us a chronological table extending from the year 1530 (*circ*) when the Portuguese begin to frequent Bengal, to the year 1710, when Mr. J. Calvert was Collector of Calcutta. Whether Mr. Wilson will accomplish his idea of a scientific presentation of the History of British India (which he says, "has yet to be written"), explaining why the British conquered India and not the Portuguese, French, or Dutch; why English dominion took its rise from Bengal and not from Madras or Bombay, "according to those invariable laws of development which the genius of Hegel has discovered and explained," remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson's History of India, conceived after this manner, will be more successful than the German savant's own "Philosophy of History" has been. In any case, the information afforded is useful, though we should say, that, in tracing the scientific connexion between events as "antecedent and consequent," history must be purged from legend and doubtful tradition, of which this book contains a sufficient store.

A History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule, by PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.S.C. (LOND)., F.G.S., M.R.A.S., (in four Volumes) Vol. III. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Bombay, Thacker & Co. Madras, Higginbotham & Co. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz.

Vols. I and II of this work, which were reviewed in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1895, dealt with the Religious condition, the Social condition and the Industrial condition of India. The present Vol. (III) treats of the Intellectual condition of the Hindus under British Rule. In a thoughtful introduction, the learned author deals with the decline of the Hindu intellect since the twelfth century, which he ascribes chiefly to the influence of caste. He shows how caste hindered progress; and is by no means enamoured with that institution, as some recent writers and lecturers seem to be. The introduction is a very important portion of the book, and ably analyses the influence of such causes as the doctrine of equality and the sense of individualism upon Hindu intellect and literature. He discounts the effect of railways upon the progress of India, in a manner by no means unfair, yet in a way not usual with English writers. It is always interesting and helpful to hear an educated Native, of the writer's intelligence, deliver his thoughts on Western methods of civilization. It seems a pity, however, that Mr. Bose should have allowed himself to be drawn into politics in a work of this nature.

The book gives us a preparatory glance at the history of the

Hindu intellect from the earliest times to the days of British rule. The glance is but a rapid glance, and could hardly have been otherwise; yet it strikes us as marked with undue haste, especially in what relates to Hindu philosophy and Buddhistic influence. The influence of the Mahomedan conquest upon Hindu learning and literature is, we should say, fairly assessed. Mr. Bose gives no quarter to the selfish exclusiveness of the Brahmans. This chapter closes with the rise of the Vernacular literatures, and the influence upon them of Vaishnavism.

The following chapters treat of the influence upon the Hindu mind, of English Liberalism, of English Industrialism, of modern Natural Science, of the Administrative policy of British Rule, and of that most important subject—Education. This he divides into three parts, English education, Vernacular education and Female education. The creation of the Universities in 1857 formed, of course, an epoch in the history of education in India, and its effects will perhaps be treated more fully in the volume which still remains to be issued.

In a cursory review of this valuable book, we hardly know what to dwell upon, where there are such a number of topics so intensely interesting and so exciting. The chapter on the effect of English liberal ideas on India affords much food for thought to the statesman and philanthropist; though mere theories of Government, conceived in the brains of students, cannot possess the value which experience in the actual work of ruling confers on the plans of men in authority. The effect of English industrialism on Indian manufactures and arts is a sad phase of British rule. The need for more appliances in the department of technical education is shown with great force. We have no space to go into the tempting questions which this book raises; and, where there is so much to praise, one is not willing to dwell on a few blemishes. We should not, however, be faithful to our trust if we did not notice the silence of the writer on the effects of Missionary education. Under the head "Early Missionary efforts to spread English education," there is the bare mention of the Serampore College having been projected in 1818, and of the fact that Dr. Duff opened a school "in which English was chosen as the principal medium of instruction." This is hardly fair to Missionary effort in the cause of education. The Serampore College, until it was closed about a dozen years ago, was a very important factor in the education of the rising generation of Hindus: while the General Assembly's Institution, founded by Dr. Duff, constituted an era in Native education. The splendid results achieved by it deserved a more worthy tribute than has been rendered to them in a book dealing expressly with the influence of English education on the Hindu mind. The General Assem-

bly's Institution continued to exist when the Free Kirk started a fresh college. The London Missionary Society's Institution at Bhowanipore also, in common with the important colleges above named, has been ignored by a writer who complains justly of the injustice of silence where Native merit, such as that of Radha Nath Sickdar, is ignored.

We have tried to be fair in our estimate of this volume of Mr. Bose's ambitious book. And we do not think he will misunderstand us when we say that, though open to improvement on points which may be touched in a second edition, it is not inferior to its predecessors, and is worthy of the reputation of its author for learning, ability and research.

The Light that Failed. By Rudyard Kipling, London, Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1896.

PERHAPS Dick, with his palette and paint-brush, is, as an artist, very much of the type of Mr. Rudyard Kipling as a literary man. There is the same reckless originality, the same disregard of canons of art, the same eccentricity of genius, combined with a power of fascination which took the public by storm. The incongruity of the story lies in the incapacity of the circumstances in which Dick Hebdar is brought up to produce the resulting product. In the absence of any immediate ancestry from whom he might be supposed to inherit his gifts, he might well furnish an argument for re-incarnation. He might have had pre-existence on this earth not less than 1,500 years ago—which, we understand, is the requisite interval. In any case, Dick is a character which has its own attraction. His "calf-love" for Maisie developed into a pure affection of the most disinterested character. It is a gem in a rough casket. Its genuineness is proved by its enduring to the end, though not reciprocated. It is set off by the passiveness and "obstinacy" of its object. Maisie's relation to Dick is hit off exactly in Torpenhow's remark: "What a demon that girl must be! Dick's given her his life, confound him, and she's given him one kiss apparently."

The freedom and familiarity with which Mr. Kipling moves in scenes in the Soudan would tempt one to believe that he had himself been one of the war-correspondents whose adventures are described with such fidelity and with so marvellous a touch. But with all the strange characters with whom he brings us into contact, the charm of the main character in the book never abates. Through all the humour of the book, its rollicking and reckless fun, the story is profoundly touching. Nothing can exceed the pathos of the scene in which the Light fails.

"Torp! Torp! Where are you? For pity's sake come to me!"

"What's the matter?"

Dick clutched at his shoulder. "Matter! I've been lying here for hours in the dark, and you never heard me. Torp, old man, don't go away, I'm all in the dark, and you never heard me. In the dark, I tell you!"

Torpenhow held the candle within a foot of Dick's eyes, but there was no light in those eyes. He lit the gas, and Dick heard the flame catch. The grip of his fingers on Torpenhow's shoulder made Torpenhow wince.

"Don't leave me. You would'nt leave me alone now, would you? I can't see. Do you understand? Its' black—quite black, and I feel as if I was falling through it all."

Life's Handicap, being Stories of mine own People. By Rudyard Kipling, London: Macmillan & Co.

"THESE tales", says Mr. Kipling, "have been collected from all places, and all sorts of people, from priests in the Chubāra, from Ala Yar the Carver, Jiwun Singh, the Carpenter, nameless men on steamers and trains round the world, women spinning outside their cottages in the twilight, officers and gentlemen now dead and buried, and a few, but these are the very best, my father gave me." The greater part of them have appeared elsewhere, though some are new; but they all bear the impress of Rudyard Kipling's mind, and betray his inimitable touch.

Ursule Mirouet, translated by Clara Bell, with a preface by George Saintsbury. London, Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1896.

"URSULE MIROUET," dedicated by Balzac to his niece Sophie Surville, "a young girl to whom the world is as yet unknown," and avowedly written in "uncompromising respect of the noble principles of a pious education," will be regarded, Mr. Saintsbury tells us in his preface, by some persons as "wholesome" and by others as "goody." The latter charge, we are told, would be unfair, as Balzac does not shrink from showing things more or less as they are. We are bound, however, to acknowledge that there is nothing here that a pure and unsophisticated mind would not approve. Ursule Mirouet is at least free from the courtships of married women; nor does Balzac seem to find it difficult to render honest love-scenes between man and maid at least as interesting as they are in an English novel of the best class. It is something to say for a French novel that its piquancy is not due to immoral relations between the sexes.

The character of Ursule is said to be not "very human." But it is not so unnatural when we remember that it is a product of the peculiar circumstances under which she is brought up. Her old god-father, whose adopted child she was, watched her growth from infancy with the feelings of a mother; a retired

old military officer, who worshipped the little one, and an old curé, whose fatherly instincts, denied natural scope, concentrated themselves on Ursule, were her nurses. "When old men love a child, there is no limit to their passion; they adore it. For this tiny creature's sake, they silence their pet manias and forget every detail of their past life." The child, naturally of a sweet disposition, grew up under the care of this trio of grandmothers, a petted but not a spoilt child—a lovely and delicate flower shielded from contact with the evil outside, and reared in a paradise of purity and happiness. The fear of her god-father's heirs that they would lose their inheritance, and their plots to avert the threatened evil, are natural enough. The introduction of mesmerism and Swedenborgianism as spiritual forces, by the help of which the plot of the tale unfolds, and the employment of dream and vision in the detection of crime, do not surprise us in a foreign novel. In any case they are a set-off against that dead materialism which marked the Encyclopœdists, and are, indeed, a reaction from the tendencies of Voltaire and the philosophers of the Revolution. The character sketches are interesting—and the picture of Savinien de Portendûere is touched with skill and success. The French style, too, has its own peculiar charm.

Casa Braccio, by F. Marion Crawford, London: MacMillan & Co., and New York, 1895.

THIS, Mr. Marion Crawford's twenty-fifth novel, is dedicated to his wife. The plot of the story is cleverly worked out, albeit it is complicated: and the characters, all Italian, except that of the Scotchman, Angus Dalrymple, and the American, Paul Griggs, are set off in striking relief to the Anglo-Saxon type represented by these two. The scenes are laid in Italy.

The story is a drama in three Acts. The first Act is an elopement by Maria Addolorata with Dalrymple, under circumstances which elude pursuit, the dead body of a peasant girl having been placed by the Scotchman in the empty cell of the Nun, where the bed on which it lay was set fire to in a way which suggested accident. The peasant girl's body injured by the fire, so as to be incapable of recognition, is mistaken for that of the heroine of the first Act, Addolorata, and the peasant girl is supposed to have been carried away by the Scotch Doctor to his own country—a supposition which leads to her father vowing to effect the death of him whom he believes to be her captor. The reader is left uninformed of the result of the elopement, except that the marriage which followed bore fruit in the production of the heroine of the second Act,

a girl named Gloria. This young lady, with a Scotch father and Italian mother, comes to Italy and becomes enamoured of an Italian painter named Reanda, whom she marries, only to find that his love was a passing passion, which evaporated, leaving her bitterly disappointed with a loveless husband. She leaves him after some time to take refuge with the American, Paul Griggs, whose character is perhaps the most remarkable in the book. His love partakes of the depth and strength of the character of the Northern races; but to her it is only a friendship, for her heart is with her abandoned Italian husband. In Griggs's heart "Gloria has taken the place of all other divinities, real and imaginary. His enduring nature could no more be wearied in its worship of her," than it could be tried in toiling for her. His love for her is strong but undemonstrative, and is finely contrasted with hers in the following powerful passage: —

"Tell me you love me! she cried. 'You are all I have in the world!'

"Does it need telling?" he asked, soothing her. Then, all at once, his arms tightened so that she could hardly draw breath for a moment, and his head was bent down, and rested for an instant upon her neck, as though he himself sought rest and refuge.

"I think you know, dear," he said. She knew far better than he could tell her, for the truth of his passion shook the dramatic and artificial fabric of her own to its foundations; "and even as she pressed him to her, she felt that secret repugnance which those who do not love feel for those who love them over-much. It was mingled with a sense of shame which made her hate herself, and she began to suffer acutely."

The end was that she came to fear him and to hate him. Shortly after, unknown to Griggs, she wrote a passionate and penitent letter to her husband, which, not being responded to, she committed suicide, leaving as a legacy a farewell letter for him, expressing her passion in frantic terms.

The third Act ends with the assassination of Dalrymple by the Italian peasant, who supposes that the Scotchman has taken away his daughter.

Prisoners of Silence, by Mary Angela Dickens, London: Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1895.

THE scenes of this powerful novel lie mainly in a Cathedral town. The *Prisoners of Silence* are characters in the book, whose lips are sealed by reason of wrong-doing in early life. There is a cynicism about the leading characters in the work, which makes their society any thing but pleasant. With the exception of Bryan Armitage, there is hardly one that seems to possess the milk of human kindness. The central figure of the book, with whom the first scene opens and almost the last closes, is Mrs. Vallotson, whose silence covers the secret of the plot, which is well preserved until its dis-

closure brings about the *denouement*. Her character, however, is over-drawn. Her severity has scarcely a relieving touch, and the retribution which befalls her, harsh as it seems, has no such effect on her as the sympathetic reader is entitled to expect. The hero of the book, North Branston, on whom the Authoress has evidently bestowed much pains, would have been a grander character were he less of a stoic. His self-control exemplifies the language of Prometheus to the Furies who torment him :—

> "Yet am I king over myself, and rule
> The torturing and conflicting throngs within
> As Jove rules you, when Hell grows mutinous."

There is in this a sublimity which inspires us with an interest of its own. Yet later development makes that interest more human. Lady Karslake, who would have been more of a woman, were she less of a woman of fashion, is "a soul long dormant, struggling towards consciousness through agony and darkness." It is natural enough for her to ask the meaning of what to her was "the ghastly riddle of existence." North Branston's answer is worthy of the man :—

> "I cannot make you see it," he said steadily. "Life must do that."
> "Life," she said ; there was a sharp note of anguish in her voice ; but her eyes looked into his as though she read there more than his man's lips could utter. "What does life mean for us?"
> "Just that," he answered gently, "learning to understand."
> "How?"
> "By patience," he answered. "Patience with ourselves ; patience with the lives about us ; patience with the darkness which is the shadow cast by light."

Mary A. Dickens is evidently not an enthusiastic admirer of the New Woman. Her Gilton girl, Constance, is an amusing and successful attempt to show up the superficial smartness and over-weening conceit of a type of her sex which is attracting some attention at the present time.

On Memory and the Specific Energies of the Nervous System. By Prof. EWALD HERING. (Religion of Science Library. Chicago : The Open Court Publishing Company.

THE two papers by Professor Hering which compose this number of the Religion of Science Library, are brief statements, rather than, in any sense, demonstrations, the one of the theory of memory as a general function of organised matter with which the author's name is specially associated, and the other of Johannes Mueller's theory of the specific energies of the sensory nerves.

Memory, according to the former theory, which, in its main features, may be regarded as firmly established, includes, not merely the faculty of voluntarily reproducing ideas, but also all

involuntary reproductions of sensations, conceptions, emotions and aspirations. Our experience of the way in which whole groups of sensuous perceptions, properly correlated in space and time, return into consciousness, after having long ceased to be the subjects of sensation, clearly shows that, after the extinction of conscious sensations, some material vestiges still remain in our nervous system. Such revivals of former sensuous perceptions take place, to a large extent, spontaneously. Qualities, too, which are common to many things, and, consequently, the subjects of repeated sense perceptions, get separated from them in the memory, and attain an independent existence in consciousness, as concepts, or ideas. Memory is thus a faculty, not so much of conscious, as of unconscious, life; and the question arises, where and in what form that exists, in the interval, which was conscious yesterday, and, after ceasing to be so, again becomes conscious to-day. Professor Hering's answer to this question is, that it exists as a disposition of the nervous substance, a disposition which implies a change of its molecular and atomic structure, by which it is enabled to reproduce, more or less exactly and with greater or less energy, such physical processes as are "functions" of the corresponding psychical processes of sensation and perception. Many of the links of connected chains of conceptions, moreover, never become subjects of consciousness. "Some ideas emerge from unconscious life into consciousness, without being connected with any conscious conception whatever; others sink into unconsciousness without ever having been connected with conscious ideas." Thus the unifying factor of consciousness must be looked for in unconscious life; and it is only in virtue of the preservation of innumerable unconscious links between our conscious perceptions that our voluntary movements, in the perfectly organized form which they come, through practice, to assume, are rendered possible. Nor is memory confined to the nervous system. It extends to every muscle, and to every cell. In short, it is to memory that we owe all we are and all we have. On the question of the transmission by heredity of acquired characteristics, Professor Hering, as might be inferred, takes up a position radically opposed to that of Professor Weissman and his school. "On the basis of numerous facts," he says, "we may justly assume that even such qualities of an organism can be transferred to its posterity as have not been inherited, but have been acquired, under peculiar circumstances of life. Thus, every organic being endows its germs with some small inheritance which has been acquired during the individual life of the parental organism, and is added to the total legacy of the race."

As regards Mueller's theory of the specific energies of the nervous system, all that need be said here is that it is in the

structure of the sensory nerves, and not of the nervous centres of the brain, that he finds the factor by which our sensations are differentiated; and it is this inherent function of a certain nerve, by which it produces a particular sensation, or rather by which it produces the group of physical conditions on which the setting up of such a sensation in the conscious brain depends, that is called "the specific energy" of that nerve At the same time, Professor Hering holds that each cerebral cell, as a consequence of the repeated "irritations" which it receives from the nerve-fibres entering it, undergoes a special education, by which it is, so to speak, attuned to such irritations, and fitted to respond to and reproduce them with greater facility than others.

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